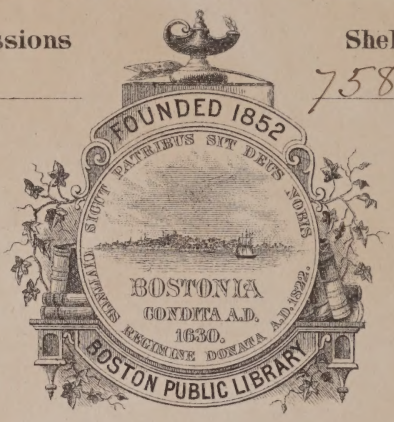
BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 9999 08633 644 1

Accessions

Shelf No.

7582.49



Received May 6 1869

Heliotype Printing Co.

BRITISH OPINIONS

7582.49

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

'Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbor unto him that fell among the thieves?' LUKE x, 26.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY GARRISON & KNAPP,
At the Office of 'THE LIBERATOR,' No. 10, Merchants' Hall.
1833.

INDEX.

Advertisement - - - - - - - - - - - 3
Letter to Thomas Clarkson, by James Cropper - - - - - 5

Prejudice Vincible, &c. - - - - - - - - - 9
Desciption of Liberia - - - - - - - - - - 9
Fundamental Principle of the American Colonization Society - - 9
General Observations - - - - - - - - - 9
Quotations from the Reports of the American Colonization Society 10
Real and Proprosed remedies, contrasted - - - - - - 11
Sentiments of the free colored people of the United States - - 13
Assertions and Evidences - - - - - - - - - 18
Evil incident to all colonies on the African coast while negro slavery lasts 23
Evidences in favor of the free colored people - - - - - 23
Contrast between Jamaica and the slave United States - - 24
Our duty - - - - - - - - - - - 25

Extracts, From Facts, &c. - - - - - - - - 30
" From the Anti-Slavery (London) Reporter - - - 33
" From the Liverpool Mercury - - - - - - 36

ADVERTISEMENT.

During the past year the character of the American Colonization Society has been a subject of frequent discussion. The interest taken in the question has created a great demand for publications in relation to it. As a proof of this, it may be mentioned that a large edition of '*Garrison's Thoughts on Colonization*,' 2750 copies, was disposed of in the course of nine months.

The interest in the subject has not in any degree abated at the present time. And those who are opposed to the Society have for a long time felt the want of some tract, in which the arguments against the institution should be presented in a form sufficiently cheap to fit it for general circulation. To supply this want is the object of the present publication. A number of pieces have lately appeared in Great Britain in which the pretensions of the Colonization Society are discussed with great candor and ability. The whole of one pamphlet on this subject and parts of others are embraced in the following pages.

Much has been recently written in this country as well as Great Britain, in relation to the Colonization Society, and with great ability. We have chosen to confine our re-publication to British articles, for several reasons. First, the British pieces have not, and cannot, without re-publication, enjoy so great a circulation among us as the American have already done: and secondly, the Englishmen who write upon this subject, are at a distance from the sources of American prejudices; their opinions, therefore, deserve respect as those of impartial spectators.

We do not offer any remarks in favor of the articles contained in this pamphlet. They will recommend themselves to all who will read them.

The articles now offered to the American public are as follow:

1. The whole of a pamphlet with the following title, '*A Letter to Thomas Clarkson by James Cropper; and Prejudice Vincible, or the practicability of conquering Prejudice by better means than by Slavery and Exile; in relation to the American Colonization Society.* By C. Stuart.'

2. Extracts from a pamphlet entitled '*Facts designed to exhibit the real character and tendency of the American Colonization Society.* By Clericus.'

3. Extracts from the *Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

4. Extract from the *Liverpool Mercury.*

A LETTER TO THOMAS CLARKSON,

BY JAMES CROPPER.

Liverpool, 10th month, 2d, 1832.

My Dear Friend:—

It has caused me deep regret to see thy name amongst those of many long-tried friends of humanity as supporters of the American Colonization Society. Though I am not surprised that many, under the mask of a voluntary and prosperous settlement of free blacks on the coast of Africa—a measure in which every friend of humanity must rejoice—have been led to support a scheme, the nature and effects of which are of a very different character.

In judging of this scheme we ought never to loose sight of two facts with respect to the enslaved Africans in the United States, in which the enormities of that free country have exceeded those of any other. The first is, that slaves are regularly bred for sale. The second, that in many of the States the laws affecting free blacks are of so violently persecuting a character as to compel those who obtain their liberty to leave those States. From the former of these causes, instances must often occur (from the state of morals in slave countries) of fathers selling their own children!!! From the latter has originated the Colonization Society; it arose out of these prejudices against color, and is a direct attempt to extend the same principle to transportation.

Why are slaveholders so anxious to send away free people of color? Because their slave institutions would be endangered by the competition of respectable free black laborers; and they dread still more their education and advancement in science. If they were desirous to serve the free blacks, they would instruct them at home, (not a *few* of them, but every one that they send,) and not send them in ignorance to a barbarous country.

To this real scheme of transporting the people of color a professed one is attached, for the ultimate extinction of slavery, by the transportation of the whole black population to the coast of Africa; and we are gravely told that one hundred thousand slaves are ready to be given up, if means can be found of sending them to Africa! A most extraordinary statement, and one for which I believe there is no foundation, in either fact or probability. Can it be believed that the slaveholders of the United States are ready to give up their property, worth at least FIVE MILLIONS STERLING?—a liberality unheard of since the foundation of the world. In all the rest of the United States, enough to pay the expense of their emigration cannot be

raised, and hence it is sought for in England. If there was any truth in this wonderful statement, we must all of us have been sadly deceived about the debasing effects of slaveholding on the minds of those engaged in it. No other occupation ever produced such extraordinary liberality.

It would be interesting to know to what class these men belong. Is it the practice of selling their own children which has produced this extraordinary effect? Or are these men amongst the slave-buyers, who purchase them for no other purpose, than to give them their freedom so soon as the means of sending them to Liberia can be found? Is it not strange indeed, that any man can be bold enough to make assertions so obviously at variance with truth.

To whatever extent this transportation of slaves was carried, the slaveholders know that the price of those slaves which remained would be enhanced, and their condition embittered, by the removal of all hopes of liberty, so precious to the human soul. The free colored people being kept few and poor, will be prevented from rising, by fair competition, to the equal rank and honor to which that competition naturally conducts, when not marred in its progress by some such scheme as the American Colonization Society. No wonder that, with the exception of some who do not understand the plan, the planters are friendly to the colonization scheme. But the free people of color are opposed to this scheme. They have committed no crime, and do not like to be transported and to suffer the highest penalty of the law next to death.

To whatever extent the United States expatriate their cotton cultivators they destroy one of the chief sinews of their own prosperity, and increase the temptation to other States to renew the slave trade by fresh importations. The whole revenue of the United States, for fully thirty years to come, would be required to purchase the slaves and to transport them and the free blacks to Africa. Such an idea as the extinction of slavery by means of the Colonization Society can never have been seriously contemplated. No! *Perpetuation*, and not *extinction of slavery*, is its object!

The first command ever given to man was—'Be fruitful and multiply.' Who can doubt that it is for his interest to obey this and every other command of God?—but in no case is it so manifest as when in a state of slavery. The value of men, as of every other commodity, is governed by their plenty or scarcity; where they are so abundant that parishes are willing to pay the expenses of emigration to get rid of them, there must be an end of slavery. Every increase of numbers tends, whilst it is a proof of better treatment, to promote the mitigation and final extinction of slavery: and it must be admitted that the Americans evince this proof of good treatment.

The slaves in the United States have rapidly increased, and this increase has been highly beneficial to the cause of humanity. It is estimated that they have inceased since 1808, (the time of both our and their abolition of

the slave trade,) from 1,130,000, to 2,010,000, and they have more than trebled the growth of cotton since the peace in 1814, and have reduced its price to one-third of what it then was, though the Brazils, with all their slave trading, have only added one-fourth part to their growth of cotton in the same time. Hence it is plain, that if there has been any increase in the cotton cultivators of Brazils, few or no slaves can have been imported for its cultivation. May we not then say that the increase of the slave population of the United States has done more than all our enormous expenditure for the suppression of the African slave trade?

It cannot but be interesting to thee to know what would have been the effect of a similar increase in the English West Indian slaves. Had they increased in the same proportion as those of the United States (since the abolition of the slave trade) their numbers would have been 728,317 more than they now are, which, if employed in the cultivation of sugar, would have been sufficient to have produced an increase of 240,000 tons annually, whilst all the slave trading of the Brazils and Cuba and the French colonies have only added 115000 tons to their growth. Such an increase of sugar would have greatly reduced its price, and consequently the price of slaves, and thereby have destroyed the slave trade for the growth of sugar, as it has long since extingiushed that for the cultivation of indigo, and more recently for the growth of cotton.

The disguise is now removing, and the real tendency of the Society is becoming apparent. A bill was reported to the House of Delegates of Virginia for sending the free blacks away by force; but though this compulsory clause was rejected, it is added that several other motions were made and decided by majorities, which amply proved the determination of the House, to adopt some measure for the removal of the free blacks. These legislators admit that the free blacks will not leave the land without some sort of force; which may either be absolute, or by rendering their situation absolutely intolerable.

Great injury has been done to the cause of negro emancipation by the encouragement which the agent of this most *diabolical* scheme has received from the sanction of thy name. The term diabolical is not too severe; for never did Satan, with more success, transform himself into an angel of light than in the gloss which has covered its deformities.

These persecuted free blacks view the whole plan with the abhorrence which is justly due to it, and with which we should view a plan of general transportation from the land of our nativity. The slave owners are its advocates and supporters. Surely the name of Clarkson will be withdrawn from the ranks of the oppressors, and will be found, as it has ever yet been, amongst the friends of the oppressed African race.

Let us repair the injury which has been done on both sides of the water by this unholy connection between slave-holders and philanthropists; for since this scheme has been on foot its deadening influence on the energies of the friends of humanity in the United States has been most manifest.

Let there no longer be any doubt which side is taken by the philanthropists of England. Let them declare their deep feeling of sympathy with these sorely-persecuted and oppressed people; and such an example will be followed in the United States, where the friends of humanity will hasten to leave the ranks of the oppressors, and the cause of justice will again flourish.

May I particularly request thy attentive perusal of the following twenty pages, written by my friend CHARLES STUART, one of the most devoted Christians I have ever known, and an unwearied advocate of the oppressed Africans. I am, with great regard,

Thy sincere friend,

JAMES CROPPER.

PREJUDICE VINCIBLE, &c.

Conflicting statements having been placed before the public on the subject of the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, the writer is led by what he deems a solemn regard for truth and duty, to offer the following evidence in relation to it :—

Liberia is an American settlement on the western coast of Africa, about 200 miles southward of Sierra Leone, in lat. 6 deg. 30 min. N. and lon. 11 deg. W. Its principal point is Cape Mesurado, on which Monrovia, its capital, is built.— The settlement comprises a small domain, immediately around Monrovia, purchased from the *native chiefs*, and is loosely said to consist of a much larger territory, because the native chiefs have merely put themselves, during pleasure, under its protection. Cape Mesurado is a fine elevated spot, completely ventilated and drenched with the fresh, moist, sea air, extending two or three miles. The rest of the territory differs in nothing materially from the fertile and imperfectly cultivated continental sea coasts of the regions of the equator. Vessels of moderate burthen only can enter its harbor.

The American Colonization Society founded and supports Liberia. It was commenced in 1817, and of late has obtained considerable attention. Its fundamental principles are embodied in the two first articles of its constitution, and are as follow :—

ARTICLE 1.—'This Society shall be called "The American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States." '

ARTICLE 2.—'The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient,' &c.

The broad facts of the case are these :—

The whole population of the United States is about 13,000,000. Out of this, upwards of 2,000,000 are held in a most degrading and brutal state of personal slavery, under laws worse than even those of the wretched slave colonies of Great Britain.

Out of the whole, 330,000, though *free*, are in most cases *only partially so;* and are exposed to an exceedingly malignant and destructive persecution, merely because they have a skin differently colored from the remaining eleven and a half millions of their fellow-subjects.

Both these two persecuted classes are rapidly increasing. Their increase terrifies the slave party, and fills them with anxious musings of danger.

The glaring contradiction of a *free* people being a *slaveholding* people ; of eleven or twelve millions of men, calling themselves the most free in the world,

keeping upwards of 2,000,000 of their unoffending fellow-subjects in the most abject and degrading slavery, affects many, and urges them to seek a remedy.—The word of God stands out before others, and bids them blush and tremble at the guilt and danger of their country, while the smothered cry of the oppressed and unoffending poor rises incessantly to God against her.

From this state of things it was that the American Colonization Society arose; by this state of things it is that the American Colonization Society subsists. It is agreeable to the slave-master, for it calms his fears. It offers a *remedy* to the man who mourns over the dishonor and inconsistency of his country; and to the man who fears God, it commends itself by pretending to do all that it can for the unoffending poor.

The views of its advocates are frankly expressed in its own constitution as above quoted, and in its own reports. I refer to them all, particularly to the three last, 13th, 14th and 15th, and submit from them the following quotations:

I. 13th Report, page 44:—'The present number of this unfortunate, degraded and anomalous class of inhabitants cannot be much short of half a million, and the number is fast increasing. They are emphatically a mildew upon our fields, a scourge to our backs, and a stain upon our escutcheon. To remove them is mercy to ourselves, and justice (!!!) to them.' 15th Report, page 24—'The race in question were known, as a class, to be destitute, depraved, the victims of all forms of social misery. The peculiarity of their fate was, that this was not their condition by accident or transiently, but inevitably and immutably, whilst they remained in their present place, by a law as infallible in its operation as any of a physical nature.' In same, 15th Report, page 25—'What is the free black to the slave? A standing, perpetual excitement to discontent..... The slave would have then little excitement to discontent, but for the free black; he would have as little to habits of depredation, his next strongest tendency, but from the same source of deterioation !!!.....In getting rid, then, of the free blacks, the slave will be saved from the chief occasions for suffering, and the owner from inflicting severity.'

II. 15th Report, page 26:—'If none were drained away, slaves became inevitably and speedily redundant, &c. &c. When this stage had been reached, what course or remedy remained? Was *open butchery* to be resorted to, as among the Spartans with the helots; or *general emancipation and incorporation*, as in South America; *or abandonment of the country by the masters*?'* Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe: could all of them be avoided? and if they could, how? 'There was but one way, and it was to *provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase*, beyond the occasions of profitable employment, &c. &c. This drain was already opened.' The *African Repository*, vol. 7, page 246, says—'Enough, under favorable cir-

* In contemplating these alternatives, how can we sufficiently admire the goodness of God in having provided that the increase of slaves shall necessarily lead to emancipation and incorporation! and how can we be sufficiently struck with horror at the deliberate and insolent cruelty of man, in devising schemes like this for the perpetuation of slavery!—J. C.

cumstances, might be removed for a few successive years, *if young females were encouraged to go*, to keep the whole colored population *in check!!*'— How dreadful thus coolly to rend asunder the sexes which were made to be each other's mutual strength and solace through earth's dangerous pilgrimage! And in page 232, anticipating within two generations a result of forty whites to one black, it declares that all uneasiness would then be at an end.

III. In 14th Report, pages 12 and 13 :—'And the slaveholder, so far from having just cause to complain of the Colonization Society, has reason to congratulate himself that in this institution a channel is opened up, in which the public feeling and action can flow on without doing violence *to his rights!* The closing of this channel might be calamitous to the slaveholder beyond his conception ; for the stream of benevolence that now flows so innocently in it might then break out in forms even far more disastrous than abolition societies and all their kindred and ill-judged measures.'

Report of Pennsylvania Colonization Society for 1830, page 44 :—'The Society proposes to send, not one or two pious members of Christianity into a foreign land, but to transport *annually, for an indefinite number of years*, in one view of its scheme, 6000, in another 56,000 missionaries (!!) of the descendants of Africa itself, to communicate the benefits of our religion, and of the arts. And this *colony of missionaries*,' &c. That is, *six* or *fifty-six thousand* of the *degraded and anomalous* wretches, who are said to be a *mildew* upon the fields of America, and a scourge to the backs, and a stain upon the escutcheon of the white people of the United States, are to be transformed annually, by transportation to Africa (*with their own consent*) into an *army of missionaries*, communicating the *benefits* of *religion* and the *arts!!!*

In further pursuing this subject, I propose—

1. To contrast the evils which need a remedy, and the remedy needed, with the remedy proposed by the American Colonization Society.

2. To ask how far the remedy thus proposed may fairly by expected to remove the evils in question.

3. What are the feelings of the free-colored people themselves respecting this remedy?

4. Have we any other evidences?

5. What is our duty?

1. *The Evils which need a Remedy.*	*Remedy needed.*	*Remedy proposed by the American Colonization Society.*
1. The brutal and degrading personal slavery of upwards of 2,000,000 unoffending subjects of the United States.	The immediate abolition, by a well digested legislative enactment in each slave State and in Congress, of the brutal, criminal, and ruinous system of negro slavery, and the immediate substitution in its place, of a law worthy of a great, free, and enlightened country.	The sending to Africa under circumstances as favorable as in their power, of as many of the enslaved and unoffending negroes as their own masters may please to emancipate for that purpose.

2. The cruel and criminal prejudice against the free colored people, and the dreadful persecution to which it subjects them.	The union of Christians and philanthropists of every class, *especially of the Ministers of the Gospel*, to brand that base and destructive prejudice every where with the infamy which it deserves, and to extend the cherishing arms of heavenly love to comfort, support, and establish in their native country all who are outraged by it.	The sending to Africa, under circumstances as favorable as in their power, of as many of the sufferers as they can get to go or to send.
3. The African slave trade continued.	The immediate and universal abolition of its only source and support, negro slavery.	The settlement of a free colored colony, under circumstances as favorable as in their power, upon the coast of Africa.
4. The moral wretchedness of Africa.	Select missionary efforts, such as are using elsewhere, multiplied and extended.	The sending to Africa of a mixed crowd of wretches declared to be too bad, generally speaking, to be safely allowed to remain in their native country, under the presumption that landing them in Liberia will qualify them to be missionaries of the Gospel.
5. The ruinous condition of the slave States.	The conversion of their slave laborers into free laborers,—of their unwilling into willing hands.	The removal from the United States as quickly as possible of a vast proportion of all its laboring strength.
6. The terrors of the slave masters.	Undissembling repentance, and fruits meet for repentance; and for this purpose the continual setting before them of their sin; and, morally speaking, giving them no peace in their iniquity.	Removing, as condescendingly as possible, as many of the objects of their terrors as they wish to get rid of, that they may keep the remainder as long as they please, without fear.

Such, I think, are the chief evils set forth in this Society's reports. Such are the plain and simple remedies which duty undeniably requires; and such are the remedies proposed by the American Colonization Society.

2.—*How far may the remedies thus proposed be fairly expected to remove the evils in question?*

I put it to the independent understandings of my fellow-men; I entreat them to weigh each evil for themselves, with its remedy, *real and proposed;* and I ask, as far as the American Colonization Society succeeds, what must be the condition of the mass of wretches that continue enslaved, when year after year, all hopes of liberty are more and more extinguished, and nothing but strengthening despotism remains? When every brute shall be more and more at liberty to pollute them with impunity, and when every barrier to holier alliances shall be more and more proudly closed?

1. What kind of a remedy will it be to the brutal enslavement of *two millions*, increasing at the rate of 50,000 annually, that annually a few hundreds, (or thousands if it it should ever be,) have their slavery commuted into transportation. The few who are benefited not being righted, but only suffering a

lesser instead of a greater wrong ; while the two millions who remain are still increasing in number and sinking in degradation ?

2. What kind of a remedy is it to the dreadful persecution which the 3 or 4 or 500,000 free-colored people are suffering in the United States, that a fragment of them are removed annually to a forign land, *with their own consent*, while the multitude who remain are subjected to aggravated persecution ?

3. How can the African slave trade be effectually prevented, while negro slavery, its *only source*, remains ? or what power can the Americans have in attempting to abolish the slave trade in Africa, excepting that of *mere brute force, while they have a slave trade at home more criminal than that of Africa, and almost as cruel ?*

4. How can the moral wretchedness of Africa be remedied by an influx of degraded and untutored minds ? And what will the Africans think, when informed that *these Americans*, who are so busy about freedom on the African coast, are slave-masters, or *encouragers of slave-masters at home ?*

5. How can the ruinous condition of the slave States be remedied by transporting almost the whole of their laboring strength to a distant country ?

6. And what good will it be doing the slave-holder to give him peace in his sins ? To make it as pleasant and as safe for him as you can, to continue to plunder and to oppress the unoffending poor ? Will *that* be loving him ? Will his soul bless you for *such* love, when his whiter skin no more elates him with pride, and he meets his slave, no longer a slave or a negro, but like himself, a deathless soul, to be judged, without respect of persons, by the impartial law of unalterable righteousness ?

3.—*What are the feelings of the free colored people themselves respecting this remedy ?*

In 1817, at the first formation of the American Colonization Society, they thus expressed themselves at a public meeting, at Bethel Church, in Philadelphia, James Forten being their Chairman :—

' Whereas, our ancestors (not of choice) were the first successful cultivators of the wilds of America, we their descendants feel ourselves entitled to participate in the blessings of her luxuriant soil, which their blood and sweat manured ; and that any measure, or system of measures, having a tendency to banish us from her bosom, would not only be cruel, but would be in direct violation of those principles which have been the boast of this republic.

' *Resolved*,—That we view with deep abhorrence the unmerited stigma attempted to be cast upon the reputation of the free people of color, by the promoters of this measure, ' that they are a dangerous and useless part of the community,' when in the state of disfranchisement, in which they live, in the hour of danger they ceased to remember their wrongs and rallied round the standard of their country.

' *Resolved*,—That we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country ; they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrong ; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them, than fancied advantages for a season.

'*Resolved*,—That having the strongest confidence in the justice of God, and in the philanthropy of the free States, we cheerfully submit our destinies to the guidance of Him, who suffers not a sparrow to fall without his special providence.'

And this meeting, immediately afterwards, put forth the following address :—

TO THE HUMANE AND BENEVOLENT INHABITANTS OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA.

EXTRACTS.

'We have no wish to separate from our present homes for any purpose whatever. Contented with our present situation and condition, we are not desirous of increasing their prosperity but by honest efforts, and by the use of those opportunities for their improvement, which the constitution and laws allow to all. It is, therefore, with painful solicitude, and sorrowing regret, we have seen a plan for colonizing the free people of color of the United States, on the coast of Africa.

'*We humbly*, respectfully, and fervently intreat and beseech your disapprobation of the plan of colonization now offered by the 'American Society for colonizing the free people of color of the United States.' Here, in the city of Philadelphia, where the voice of the suffering sons of Africa was first heard ; where was first commenced the work of abolition, on which Heaven has smiled, for it could have had success only from the Great Master ; let not a purpose be assisted which will stay the cause of the entire abolition of slavery in the United States, and which may defeat it altogether ; which proffers to those who do not ask for them, what it calls *benefits*, but which they consider *injuries*, and which must insure to the multitudes whose prayers can only reach you through us, *misery, sufferings, and perpetual slavery.*

(Signed) JAMES FORTEN, *Chairman.*
RUSSEL PARROTT, *Secretary.*'

EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS TO THE CITIZENS OF N. YORK, JAN. 1831.

'It is evident to any impartial observer, that the natural tendency of all their speeches, reports, sermons, &c. is to widen the breach between us and the whites, and give to prejudice a tenfold vigor. It has produced a mistaken sentiment towards us. Africa is considered the home of those who have never seen its shores. The poor, ignorant slave, who, in all probability, has never heard the name of Christ, by the colonization process is suddenly transformed into a 'missionary,' to instruct in the principles of Christianity, and the arts of civilized life. The Friends have been the last to aid the system pursued by the Society's advocates. And we say (for we feel it) that in proportion as they become colonizationists they become less active and less friendly to our welfare, as citizens of the United States.

'There does exist in the United States a prejudice against us ; but is it unconquerable ? Is it not in the power of these gentlemen to subdue it ? If their object is to benefit us, why not better our condition here ? What keeps us down but

the want of wealth? Why do we not accumulate wealth? Simply because we are not encouraged. If we wish to give our boys a classical education, they are refused admission into your colleges. If we consume our means in giving them a mercantile education, you will not employ them as clerks; if they are taught navigation, you will not employ them as captains. If we make them mechanics, you will not encourage them, nor will white mechanics work in the same shop with them. And, with all these disabilities, like millstones, about us, because we cannot point out our statesmen, bankers and lawyers, we are called an inferior race.

'These gentlemen know but little of a large portion of the colored population of this city. Their opinions are formed from the unfortunate portion of our people, whose characters are scrutinized by them as judges of court. Their patrician principles prevent an intercourse with men in the middle walks of life, among whom a large portion of our people may be classed. We ask them to visit the dwellings of the respectable part of our people, and we are satisfied that they will discover more civilization and refinement than will be found among the same number of white families of an equal standing.

'Finally, we hope that those who have so eloquently pleaded the cause of the Indian, will, at least, endeavor to preserve consistency in their conduct. They put no faith in Georgia, although she declares that the Indians shall not be removed but *with their own consent*. Can they blame us if we attach the same credit to the declaration, that they mean to colonize us *only with our consent*? They cannot, indeed, use force; that is out of the question. But they harp so much on 'inferiority, prejudice, distinction,' and what not, that there will be no alternative left us but to fall in with their plans. We are content to abide where we are. We do not believe that things will always continue the same. The time must come when the declaration of independence will be felt in the heart as well as uttered from the mouth; and, when the rights of all shall be properly acknowledged and appreciated. God hasten that time! This is our home, and this our country. Beneath its sod lie the bones of our fathers: for it some of them fought, bled, and died. Here we were born, and here we will die.' (Signed) SAMUEL ENNALS, *Chairman*.

December 25, 1830.

EXTRACT FROM THE BROOKLYN ADDRESS, JUNE, 1831.

'We truly believe that many gentlemen who are engaged in the Colonization Society are our sincere friends and well-wishers; they wished to do something for us, consequently they have subscribed largely to it, because there was no other plan on foot. Some of them have been deluded into its schemes, with a view of thoroughly civilizing and christianizing Africa, by our free people of color and emancipated slaves, who may, from time to time, be colonized on its coasts, with their own consent. We conceive that such measures are fraught with inconsistency, and in no way calculated to have such an effect. To send a parcel of uninstructed, uncivilized people to the western coast of Africa, with Bibles in their hands, to teach the natives the truths of the Gospel, social happiness, and moral virtue, is mockery and ridicule in the extreme.

'Misionary families should be well-instructed in the rudiments of our holy religion, that their example may shine forth as lights in that much neglected and benighted land.

'Many wish us to go to Africa, because they say that our constitutions are better adapted to that climate than this. If so, *we would ask why so many of our hearty, hale, and healthy brethren, on arriving in that country, fall victims to the malignant fevers and disorders prevalent in those regions?* We would observe that none are exempt from being touched with the contagion. It operates more severely upon those from the higher latitudes.

'Brethren, it is time for us to awake to our interests, for the Colonization Society is straining every nerve for the accomplishment of its objects. They have got the consent of eleven States, who have instructed their Senators to do something in the next Congress for our removal. Maryland calls imperatively on the general government to send us away, or else they will colonize their own free blacks. They have, by their influence, stopped the emancipation of slaves in a measure, except for colonization purposes.

'We pray the Lord to hasten the day when prejudice, inferiority, degradation and oppression will be done away, and the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our God and his Christ.

(Signed) H. C. THOMPSON, *Chairman.*'

EXTRACT FROM THE NEW-HAVEN ADDRESS, AUGUST, 1831.

'*Resolved*—That we consider those Christians and philanthropists, who are boasting of their liberty and equality, saying that all men are born free and equal, and yet are endeavoring to remove us from our native land, to be inhuman in their proceedings, defective in their principles, and unworthy of our confidence.

'*Resolved*—That we consider those colonizationists and ministers of the Gospel, who are advocating our transportation to an unknown clime, because our skin is a little darker than theirs, notwithstanding God has made of one blood all nations of men, and has no respect of persons, as violators of the commandments of God and the laws of the Bible, and as trying to blind our eyes by their vain movements—their mouths being smooth as oil, and their words sharper than any two-edged sword.

'*Resolved*—That it is our earnest desire that Africa become speedily civilized, and receive religious instruction; but not by the absurd and invidious plan of the Colonization Society, namely, to send a nation of ignorant men to teach a nation of ignorant men. We think it most wise for them to send missionaries.

'*Resolved*—That we know of no other place that we can call our true and appropriate home, excepting these United States, into which our fathers were brought, who enriched the country by their toils, and fought, bled, and died in its defence, and left us in its possession; and here we will live and die.'

(Signed) HENRY BERRIAN, *Chairman.*'

August 8, 1831.

EXTRACT FROM PITTSBURGH RESOLUTIONS, SEPTEMBER, 1831.

'*Resolved*—It is the decided opinion of this meeting that African colonization is a scheme to drain the better-informed part of the colored people out of these United States, so that the chain of slavery may be riveted more tightly.

'*Resolved*—That we, the colored people of Pittsburgh, and citizens of these United States, view the country in which we live as our only true and proper home. We are just as much natives here as the members of the Colonization Society. Here we were born, here bred; here are our easliest and most pleasing associations; here is all that binds man to earth, and makes life valuable. And we do consider every colored man who allows himself to be colonized in Africa, or elsewhere, a trailor to our cause.

'*Resolved*—That we, as citizens of these United States, and for the support of these resolutions, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, do mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor, not to support a colony in Africa nor in Upper Canada, nor yet emigrate to Hayti. Here we were born; here will we die; and let our bones lie with our fathers.

Sept. 1, 1831. (Signed) J. B. VASHON, *Chairman*.'

EXTRACT FROM THE WILMINGTON ADDRESS, DELAWARE, JULY, 1831.

'We are natives of the United States; our ancestors were brought over to this country by means over which they had no control; we have our attachments to the soil; and we feel that we have rights in common with other Americans; and although deprived, through prejudice, from entering into the full enjoyment of those rights, we anticipate a period, when, in despite of the more than ordinary prejudice which has been the result of this unchristian scheme, 'Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands to God.' But that this formidable society has become a barrier to our improvement, must be apparent to every individual who will but reflect on the course to be pursued by the emissaries of this unhallowed project, many of whom, under the name of ministers of the gospel, use their influence to turn public sentiment to our disadvantage, by stigmatizing our morals, misrespresenting our characters, and endeavoring to show what they are pleased to call the sound policy of perpetuating our civil and political disabilities, for the avowed purpose of indirectly forcing us to emigrate to the western coast of Africa. That Africa is neither our nation nor home, a due respect to the good seuse of the community forblds us to attempt to prove; that our language, habits, manners, morals and religion, are all different from those of Africans, is a fact too notorious to admit of controversy. Why then are we called upon to go and settle in a country where we must necessarily be and remain a distinct people, having no common interest with the numerous inhabitants of that vast and extensive country? *Experience has proved, beyond a doubt, that the climate is such as not to suit the constitutions of the inhabitants of this country.* The very numerous instances of mortality amongst the emigrants who have been induced to leave this their native for their adopted country, clearly demonstrate the fallacy of those statements so frequently made by the advocates of colonization in regard to the healthiness of Liberia.

'That we are in this country degraded, we are truly sensible; that our forlorn situation is not attributable to ourselves, is admitted by the most ardent friends of colonization; and that our condition cannot be bettered by removing the most exemplary individuals of color from amongst us, we are well convinced, from the consideration *that in the same ratio that the industrious part would emigrate, in the same proportion those that would remain would become more degraded, wretched and miserable, and consequently less capable of appreciating the many opportunities that are offered for the moral and intellectual improvement of our brethren.*

'But if this plan is intended to facilitate the emancipation of those who are held in slavery in the south, and the melioration of their condition, by sending them to Liberia, we question very much whether it is calculated to do either.—That the emancipation of slaves has has been measurably impeded through its influence, except where they have been given up to the Board of Managers, to be colonized in Africa, to us is manifest.

'Our highest moral ambition, at present, should be to acquire for our children a liberal education, give them mechanical trades, &c., and thus fit and prepare them for useful and respectable citizens.

(Signed) A. D. Shad, P. Spencer, W. S. Thomas, } *Committee.*

EXTRACT FROM NEW-BEDFORD RESOLUTIONS, JANUARY, 1832.

'*Resolved*—That the Society, to effect its purpose, the removal of the free people of color, (not the slaves,) through its agents, teaches the public to believe that it is patriotic and benevolent to withhold from us knowledge, and the means of acquiring subsistence, and to look upon us as unnatural and illegal residents in this country; and thus, by force of prejudice, if not by law, endeavor to compel us to embark for Africa, and that too, apparently, by our own free will and consent. (Signed)

January 23, 1832. Richard Johnson.'

Mr. Fisher, member of the Virginian House of Delegates, says—'If we wait till the free negroes consent to leave the State we shall wait until time is no more. They never will give their consent.'

Other resolutions similar to the above, of the same persecuted class throughout the United States, show how they are writhing beneath the colonization process.

4.—*Have we any other evidence?*

The following, from a mass far too voluminous here to introduce, is offered:

1.—The American Colonization Society is pledged not to oppose the system of slavery.

2.—It apologises for slavery and slaveholders, and speaks peace to them in their sins.

3.—It regards slaves as property.

4.—It increases the value of slaves as slaves.

5.—It is an enemy to the immediate substitution of righteous and equal law, for the unrighteous authority of the slave-masters.

6.—It is nourished by fear and selfishness.

7.—It pretends to aim at the utter expulsion of the blacks ; that is, of about one-sixth of the whole population of the United States from their native country.

8.—It disparages, traduces, and persecutes the free blacks.

9.—It prevents the instruction of the blacks.

10.—It deceives and misleads the nation.

11.—It makes a disgraceful and criminal peace between the advocates of the blacks and their oppressors.

A few words, and but a few, in proof of each of these assertions. All who wish for more ample testimony, and who feel the dearest interests in time and in eternity of a multitude of their fellow-men, motive enough for research, may find such testimony abundantly in a pamphlet, for sale at No. 9, Cornhill, Boston, United States, by Pierce & Parker, and entitled 'Thoughts on African Colonization,' by Willian Lloyd Garrison. Price 62 1-2 cents, or about 1s. 6d. English.

1.—*The American Colonization Society is pledged not to oppose the system of slavery.*

'From its origin and throughout the whole period of its existence it has constantly disclaimed all intention whatever of interfering, in the smallest degree, with the rights of property, or the object of emancipation, gradual or immediate. Throughout the whole period of its existence, this disclaimer has been made, and incontestible facts establish its truth and sincerity.'—[From a speech by Henry Clay, the champion of the American Colonization Society.]

2.—*It apologises for slaves and slaveholders, and speaks peace to them in their sins.*

'Our brethren of the South have the *same sympathies, the same moral sentiments, the same love of liberty*, as ourselves. By them, as by us, slavery is felt to be an evil, a hindrance to our prosperity, and a blot upon our character. But it was in being when they were born, and has been forced upon them by a previous generation.'—[Rev. Dr. Nott.]

3.—*It recognises slaves as property.*

'It was proper again and again to repeat that it was far, far from the intention of the Society to affect in any manner the tenure by which a certain *species of property* is held. He was himself a slaveholder, and he considered *that kind of property* as inviolable as any in the country.'—[Henry Clay.]

'Something he must yet be allowed to say, as regarded the object the Society was set up to accomplish. This object, if he understood it aright, involved *no intrusion on property, nor even upon prejudice.*—[Mr. Archer, 15th Report.]

4.—*It increases the value of slaves, and therefore gives the masters new motives to attain them.*

'They will contribute more effectually to the continuance and strength *of this*

system (i. e. *negro slavery,*) *by removing those now free,* than by any, or all other methods, which can possibly be devised. Such has been the opinion expressed by southern gentlemen of the first talent and distinction.' 'Our belief is the same as theirs.'—[African Repository, p. 227, vol. 1.]

'The execution of this scheme would augment, instead of diminishing, the value of property left behind.'—[Idem, vol. 2, p. 22.]

5.—*It is an enemy to the immediate substitution of righteous and equal law, for the unrighteous authority of the slave-master.*

'To eradicate or remove the evil immediately is impossible, nor can any law of conscience govern necessity.'—[African Repository, vol. 1, p. 251.]

'The scope of the Society is large enough, but it is nowise mingled or confounded with the broad sweeping views of a *few fanatics* in America, who would urge us on to the sudden and total abolition of slavery.'—[Idem, vol. 3, page 197.]

6.—*It is nourished by fear and selfishness.*

'Another reason is the pressing and vital importance of relieving ourselves as soon as practicable from this most dangerous element in our population.'—[14th Annual Report.]

'To remove these persons from among us will increase the usefulness and improve the moral character of those who *remain in servitude,* and with *whose labors* the country is *unable to dispense.*'—[African Repository, vol. 3, p. 67.]

'Hatred to the whites, with the exception in some cases of an attachment to the person and family of the master, is nearly universal among the black population. We have then a foe, *cherished!* in our very bosoms; a foe willing to draw our life-blood whenever the opportunity is offered, and in the meantime intent upon doing us all the mischief in his power.'—*Southern Religious Telegraph.*

And what wonder, while this foe is *cherished,* in the *manner* in which the poor negro is *cherished!* The people of the United States are not so remarkable for *loving* to be *trampled* upon, and for *kissing* the foot which *spurns* them, that they have any reason for surprise when they find that *other men* as *good as any,* and *with as full* and as *unforfeited a title to social liberty as the best,* love to be trampled upon and outraged as little as they do. The way to remedy sin is not to persist in it, or to substitute one wrong for another.

7.—*It covertly aims at the utter expulsion of the blacks, that is, about one-sixth of the whole population of the United States.*

'No scheme of abolition will meet with my support that leaves the *emancipated* blacks among us.'—[African Repository, vol. 2, p. 188.]

'How important it is, as it respects our character abroad, that we hasten to clear our land of our black population.

'What right, I demand, have the *children of Africa,*' that is, the *colored natives* of the United States, 'to a homestead in the *white man's country,*' that is, in the country which the white man has torn from the red man, and from which, after having accomplished all his own nefarious purposes with him, he is hastening to exile the black?

'The abolition of slavery was no object of desire to him, unless accompanied by colonization. So far was he from desiring it, unaccompanied with this condition, that he would not live in a country where the one took place without the other.'—[Mr. Mercer's Speech in Congress.]

8.—*It disparages, traduces, and persecutes the free blacks.*

'Free blacks are a greater nuisance than even slaves themselves.'—[Af. Rep. vol. 2. p. 328.]

'The free blacks in our country are, *as a body*, more vicious and *degraded* than any other which our population embraces.'—[Idem, vol. 5, p. 24.]

'The increase of a free black population among us has been regarded as a greater evil than the increase of slaves.'—[Idem, vol. 3, p. 374.]

'Of all the descriptions of our population, and of either portion of the African race, the free people of color are by far, as a class, the most corrupt, depraved and abandoned.'—[Idem, vol. 6, p. 12.]

9.—*It prevents the instruction of the blacks.*

'The habits, the feelings, the prejudices of society, prejudices which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education, nor religion itself, can subdue, mark the people of color, whether bond or free, as the subjects of a degradation, *inevitable* and *incurable*.'

'Christianity cannot do for them here what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the colored man, nor of the white man, nor of Christianity, but *an ordination of Providence*, and no more to be changed than the laws of nature!'—[15th Report, 17th page.]

When, ah when, will sinners cease to palm their sins upon God!

'If the free colored people were generally taught to read, it might be an inducement to them to remain in this country, (that is, in their native country!!) We would offer them no such inducement.'—*Southern Religious Telegraph, February* 19, 1831.

'The public safety of our brethren at the south requires them (the slaves) to be kept ignorant and uninstructed.'—[G. P. Dissosway, Esq. an eminent Colonizationist.]

'It is the business of the free (their safety requires it) to keep the slaves in ignorance. But a few days ago, a proposition was made in the Legislature of Georgia to allow them so much instruction as to enable them to read the Bible; which was promptly rejected by a large majority.'—*Proceedings of New-York State Colonization Society at its second anniversary.*

E. B. Caldwell, the first secretary of the American Colonization Society, in his speech at its formation, recommended them to be kept 'in the lowest state of ignorance and degradation, for (says he) the nearer you bring them to the condition of brutes, the better chance do you give them of possessing their apathy!!'

10.—*It deceives and misleads the nation.*

At one time the colonizationists say, '*Admitting* that the colonization scheme contemplates the utter abolition of slavery, yet that result could only be produced by the gradual and slow operation of centuries.'—[African Rep. page 217.] And yet, by a scheme like this, it satisfies its proselytes that they are doing their duty, and that they are going to abolish slavery!

Again,—Mr. Clay, their champion, says, 'Every emigrant to Africa is a *missionary*, carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions.'—And multitudes believe him !

Again,—'As to the morals of the colonists, I consider them much better than those of the people of the United States. That is, if you take an equal number of inhabitants from any section of the Union, and you will find more drunkards, more profane swearers and sabbath breakers, &c. than in Liberia. The Sabbath is more strictly observed than I ever saw it in the United States.'—[J. Mechlin, Jun. Governor of Liberia.]

Now, *leaving magic out of the case*, let us allow this to be true, and what pitiable and criminal insanity does it mark in the United States, to transport such a people,—or having transported them, not to send the ships of the nation to entreat them back instantly to evangelize their native country. Or let us deem it false, and how base and cruel is the decoy, which is thus held out to us, to patronize a system so nefarious.

The American Colonization Society tells us, that the exiles in Liberia consist of *emancipated slaves*. But this is a deception. They consist chiefly of *free people of color*. Now why have they not really sent, and *only* sent, *emancipated slaves* instead of free people of color, seeing they have, as they say, so many thousands offered to them for that purpose ? Will they reply, 'We have sent free people of color, because they are more virtuous, and it was necessary to lay an intelligent and virtuous foundation ? ' Then how obvious and cruel is their slander, as above quoted, against the free people of color ! Or will they reply, 'Oh, we have made a careful selection between the virtuous and vicious ? ' Then where will the selection be when they begin to transport Mr. Clay's *six or fifty six thousand missionaries* yearly !

The American Colonization Society pretends that it costs but twenty dollars each to send the exiles to Liberia. On the other hand, we have a report to the Senate of the United States, made in 1828, by Mr. Tazewell, arguing that the expense must be 100 dollars per head, perhaps twice as much,—and very convincing reasons are given in favor of this estimate.

Again, the American Colonization Society pretends that it has abolished the African slave trade to a vast extent. But in their *African Repository*, vol. 5, p. 274, I read, 'It has been declared felony, it has been declared piracy ; and the fleets of Britain and America have been commissioned to drive it from the ocean. Still, in defiance of all this array of legislation and armament, slave ships ride triumphantly on the ocean ; and in these floating caverns from sixty to eighty thousand wretches are borne annually away to slavery or death. Of these wretches a frightful number are, with an audacity that amazes, landed and disposed of *within the jurisdiction of this republic*.'

'The fact that much was done by Mr. Ashmun to banish it from the territory under the colonial jurisdiction, is unquestionable, but it now exists even on this territory ; and a little to the north and south of Liberia it is seen in its true characters, of fraud, rapine and blood. In the opinion of the late agent the present efforts to suppress this trade must prove abortive.'—[13th Annual Report.]

'Some appalling facts in regard to the slave trade have come to the knowledge

of the Board of Managers, during the last year. With undiminished atrocity and activity is this odious traffic now carried on all along the African coast. Slave factories are established in the immediate vicinity of the colony ; and at the Gallinas (between Liberia and Sierra Leone) not less than 900 slaves were shipped during the last summer, in the space of three weeks.'—[14th Ann. Rep. 1831.]

And here it may be well to observe, that *as long as negro slavery lasts, all colonies on the African coast, of whatever description*, must tend to support it, because, in all commerce, the supply is more or less proportioned to the demand. The demand exists in negro slavery ; the supply arises from the African slave trade. And what greater convenience could the African slave traders desire than shops well stored all along the coast, with the very articles which their trade demands. That the African slave traders do get thus supplied at Sierra Leone and Liberia is matter of official evidence ;* and we know, from the nature of human things, that they *will* get so supplied, in defiance of all law or precaution, as long as the demand calls for the supply, and there are *free shops* stored with all that they want at hand. The shopkeeper, however honest, would find it impossible *always* to distinguish between the African slave trader or his agents and other dealers. And how many shopkeepers are there any where that would be *over scrupulous* in questioning a customer with a full purse ?

11.—*The American Colonization Society makes a disgraceful and criminal peace between freemen and slave-masters.*

One extract may suffice. It is from the 13th Report, page 12. Mr. Frelinghuysen, one of the finest minds in the United States, is speaking.—

'Yes, Sir, I ascribe it chiefly to the kindly influence of this Society, that the indiscriminate clamors, once so liberally dealt out, have all died away. I hail the return of better feelings, of juster views. We now, Sir, regard the mischief as of common and universal concern. The language of harsh and unjust crimination and reproach is succeeded by that of sympathy and kindness !' That is, formerly freemen used to feel and speak like freemen, like real lovers of righteous liberty, in their intercourse with slaveholders. But now the freeman smiles courteously upon the oppressor of his unoffending brother, and joins in all his slaveholding sympathies ! Such is the American Colonization Society.

But the free blacks have not always been thus traduced and persecuted. There have been occasions when the truth has been wrung out, and when, under the power of the emergency, their persecutors themselves have left an imperishable record of their own infamy, whenever they dare to slander, as they are doing, this afflicted and outraged class.

In the great plague in Philadelphia, (yellow fever,) just after the revolutionary war, the mayor of the city officially acknowledged the public gratitude due to the free colored people, for their eminent services in the very jaws of death.

In the *Friend*, an American paper of Jan. 28, 1832, speaking of the late dreadful fire in Raleigh, Virginia, we read, 'Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the colored population, who used every exertion in their power to be serviceable.'

---

*In reference to the fact here stated, see Parliamentary Papers, No. 364, 'Slave Trade, Sierra Leone,' ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, 6th April, 1832, page 11, Mr. Hilary Teage.

During the public emergency at New Orleans, in the last war, the free colored people were called upon in common with the whites, and their services were thus recorded by General Jackson :—

'Soldiers,—When on the banks of the Mobile, I called you to take up arms, inviting you to partake the perils and glory of your white fellow citizens, I expected much from you, for I was not ignorant that you possessed qualities most formidable to an invading enemy. I knew with what fortitude you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the fatigues of a campaign. I knew well how you loved your *native* country, and that you had, as well as ourselves, to defend what man holds most dear, his parents, relations, wife, children, and property. You have done more than I expected. In addition to the previous qualities I before knew you to possess, I find, moreover, among you a noble enthusiasm, which leads to the performance of great things.

'Soldiers,—The President of the United States shall hear how praiseworthy was your conduct in the hour of danger ; and the representatives of the American people will, I doubt not, give you the praise your deeds entitle you to. Your General anticipates them in applauding your noble ardor.

'The enemy approaches ; his vessels cover our lakes ; *our brave citizens are united*, and all contention has ceased among them. Their only dispute is, who shall win the prize of valor, or who the most glory, its noblest reward ?

By order, (Signed) Thomas Butler, Aid-de-Camp.'

In Philadelphia, by the census of 1830, the proportion of the free colored people to the whites, was about *one-ninth*. But in the same year, during the time of the greatest need, the proportion of the free colored out-of-door paupers, receiving regular weekly supplies, only about *one-twenty-third*, that is, in proportion to their several numbers, there was twice as much extreme pauperism amongst the whites as amongst the free blacks. One cause of this disproportion deserves to be particularly noticed ; it is, *that they have numerous societies amongst themselves for mutual aid ;* and this, while they are commonly confined to the lowest offices of the community, and the most honorable and profitable professions are generally closed against them.

In the winter of 1830, wood for fuel became excessively dear at Rochester, a flourishing town in the State of New-York. A benevolent society was quickly formed, and a general visitation commenced. The visitors entered in their course the house of a free colored laboring man, and found that he was possessed of a large store of the finest wood. They offered to purchase it from him ; he refused ; they tempted him with a higher price, he calmly and steadily refused. 'But you must let us have it,' they said, 'for hundreds of the poor are perishing of cold.' 'Oh,' said the man, 'is that what you want it for ? then take half of it freely ? I want no price.' He gave the half, and would receive nothing. And these are the people whom the colonizationists are traversing land and sea to get transported from their native country.

Not long ago, our own whites were as insanely cruel in principle in our own wretched slave colonies, only no process equally cruel had occurred to them for the development of their dreadful insanity. But now, righteousness has so far

prevailed, that these same abhorred and slandered free colored people have been placed upon a par in law with the whites ; and the first men in the assembly of Jamaica, I mean the first in manly and generous principle, as far as their public conduct in the assembly qualifies us to judge of them, are *actually colored men.* Yes, the names of Watkis and of Maunderson, in these particulars, will live in the hearts of every lover of righteousness, while the remembrance of the supporters of slavery, whenever truth and law shall prevail over prejudice and tyranny, shall present no fairer picture than that of the felon—felons in heart and in deed, and only not called and treated as felons, for a time, because the *lawless* laws of their countr y, *then* put darkness for light, and light for darkness : *then* called evil good, and good evil. Is not the African slave trade now called felony ? And what has made it more *felony* now, than it was while it *was honorable and legal ?* Do human laws alter the nature of things, or can man subvert the constitutions of his Maker ? And what *real* difference is there between negro slavery and the African slave trade ? What, but that negro slavery is the parent, and the African slave trade the child *worthy* of its sire. What, but that negro slavery is the cause, and the African slave trade the consequences *worthy* of its cause. Is not the one as fundamentally as the other, a system of robbery and wrong ? What article of property in the world is so inalienably his, and so sacredly dear to every man, as his own personal liberty ? and if the man who purloins my purse, or plunders or burns my house—these unspeakably lesser and poorer things—be worthy of the last penalty of the law, of *what* is the man *worthy*, whoever he be, and whatever be the law for the time,—of what, I say, is he *worthy* who plunders his unoffending and guiltless neighbor of his personal liberty ? Or, if this be not felony—felony I mean in the nature of things—unalterably and everlastingly felony—and felony of the highest grade, next to intentional and malignant murder—what is felony ? Where shall we find right ? and what can be wrong? Or, what would then be wanting, but the opportunity, the power, and the legality, to sanction the most atrocious deeds ?

5.—*Now, what is our duty ?*

Is it to encourage a society which is riveting his chains upon the unoffending slave ; and which is embittering and strengthening the most atrocious of all prejudices against the persecuted free black man ?

Is it to encourage a society, which while it assails slavery in Africa, is spreading the kindliest shadow of its wings over a worse slavery in the United States ?

Is it to encourage a society, which can so impudently presume upon our ignorance, as to represent a low, fertile, moist, and imperfectly cultivated region within eight degrees of the equator, as a Paradise of healthfulness, to a class of people, tens of thousands of whom are the natives of the finest regions of the temperate climates, and of highly cultivated states ?

Is it to encourage a society which so daringly traduces another colony, as to pretend that Liberia is the most healthful while every one who pleases may know, that the sea-face and the upper settlements of the mountain ridge of Sierra Leone, is as healthful as Cape Messurada, and is ten times as extensive ; while the whole of the remainder, whether of Sierra Leone or Liberia, has alike the putrid climate which is common all over the world to lands of the same description similarly situated ?

Is it to encourage a society, which recognises the *right* of the *slave-master*, as a right which ought to be soothed ; as a right which righteous law ought not instantly to overturn, and from rebuking which in its pride, truth and love should refrain ?

Is it to encourage a society which carries death to the spirit of Christian enterprise, by substituting a plan which so harmonises with wickedness, that sinners the most unbending in this respect can delight in it ?

Is it to encourage a society which invites us to lend our aid to the moral and religious degradation of our honored brethren of the United States ; to sap with their worst enemies the glorious principles of Christian truth which are growing there ; to sanction *free men* in *holding slaves*, and *Christians ! !* in plundering without compunction, God's unoffending and prostrate poor ?

But, what is our duty ?

Britons, Christians, awake ! The time past of our lives is enough to have wrought the will of the Gentiles. We ought not to seek, we do not want the aid of Satan in doing the work of God. Ours is the business to abolish negro slavery in our own colonies—to abolish it instantly and utterly—to substitute at once, for the *lawless laws* which display its guilt and record its infamy, laws which shall be worthy of a great, free, and christian people. This is our duty. Every moment that we delay, our guilt is increasing ; and more and more deeply is entering into the ears of Jehovah of hosts, the cry of the laborer whose wages we are keeping back by fraud : of the slave, whose innocent blood we are shedding. Britons, Christians, awake ! Still it is day ; still the opportunity lasts. Awake ! awake ! lest, like the thunderbolt which ushered in the waters of the Flood, the dreadful words should break too late upon our ears—'Oh, Britain, Britain ! thou that plunderedst my unoffending poor, and dravedst them by thousands to death ; thou that reviledst and resistedst them that were sent unto thee ; how often would I have gathered thee, even as a hen gathereth her chickens, but ye would not. 'Behold, your house is left unto you desolate.'—[Matthew xxiii, 38.]

Let us remember, that *preparing* to do right, is *continuing* to do wrong ; that we *cannot* at once serve God and mammon ! In relation to the American Colonization Society, let us prove that we love the members which compose it, by not suffering sin upon them, but by doing all that we can to bring them to repentance, that they may neither perish nor destroy ; but may obtain everlasting life, through Him who died that sinners might not die ; and who says to us, with all the pathos of heavenly love—'Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought to love one another.'

In relation to the free colored people, if we wish to help them, let us help them to be happy in their native country, instead of helping to drive them *voluntarily* into exile in a distant and barbarous land. Their real friends at home are actively aiding them to rise there, by assailing the brutal prejudice which outrages them, and by helping them with the means of religious, moral, and intellectual culture. Amongst themselves they are alert in forming societies for their mutual provision, edification and comfort. With the aid of their real friends amongst the whites, they are erecting schools and preparing to found a

college. And in view of their present degradation through the insane prejudice which outrages them, and particularly of the aggravated wrongs to which they have become subjected by the horrible growth of colonization principles, they have resolved, as a body, while the laughing white man still holds his processions, and clamors out his joy by ten thousand commingled voices on his occasions of revelry—they are resolved, I say, when the anniversaries of their few privileges return, (the dearer because few,) to express their gratitude, *without parade and without tumult*, to the God who is everlastingly the friend of the poor, and the avenger of the oppressed. And shall we join in goading such a people as this to fly from their native country, and then cry, even in the face of everlasting truth—'They are doing it voluntarily ! ! !'

In relation to the enslaved Americans. Let us give what we *can* to the Societies in the United States which seek their emancipation at home, instead of their exile far away, amongst an uncivilized people. Let us remember that exile *is exile*, though it be better than slavery. And if any defender of slavery, or excuser of guilt, should start up and say, that this is out of the question, because the United States Government has no legal right to abolish slavery at home, let him know, that the United States Government, being eminently a Government of public opinion, may be moulded, as it has been formed, by public opinion ; all that is requisite, is to correct public opinion ; that the way to do this is not to pander to its wickedness, but to assail its wickedness by the all-conquering weapons of truth and love ; that meanwhile each State has even now the legal title within its own jurisdiction ; that the free people of each State have the power to reform their Governments ; and that the General Government has already the right in its own territory of Columbia.

Of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, the principles are as unobjectionable as is simple and everlasting truth. The President is Arnold Buffum ; the Secretary is William Lloyd Garrison ; the Treasurer, Michael H. Simpson, Boston, Massachusetts. The annual subscription is two dollars, or about nine shillings ; and the life subscription, fifteen dollars. This is the channel in which christian and British love may flow towards the blacks, whether of America or of Africa, without inconsistency and without hypocrisy. I say, of America and of Africa alike ; for the cultivation of the blacks of the United States, in their own glorious country, will better provide for the missionary service of Africa than all the *colonization missionaries* in the world.

And if it should yet be said—'But the white people of the United States are so invincibly the slaves of this most base and cruel prejudice, that they never will avail themselves of their glorious privileges to put it down, or to give their Governments the power which is requisite,' our plain answer is—There are Bibles in America ; there are ministers in America ; God is in America ; and God has children in America ; and God can win the civilized sinner, as well as the savage, to repentance. It is as true in America as elsewhere, that 'Great is truth, and truth shall prevail ;' and if the ministers of the Gospel have not yet proclaimed it, let them henceforward lift up their voice like a trumpet, and show to the people their sins ; and let every one who can read open his Bible and read, and take his Bible to the poor slave who cannot read, and read to him—'The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling

down of strong holds ; casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.'—[2 Cor. x. 4, 5.]

In relation to Africa itself, let us freely assist in pouring missionaries on her shores ; but not such missionaries as the American Colonization Society recommends. Young women, torn away from their country and their friends, that their race may perish from the scenes of their childhood ;—thousands, or tens of thousands of writhing and untutored minds, who have fled into exile in order to escape from slavery ;—speculators in commerce, or hunters of land, to whom commercial or agricultural enterprise is dearer far than immortal souls ;—multitudes of needy and ignorant poor, who can have neither leisure nor knowledge to set up for instructors. But *missionaries*, such as Christian love elsewhere supplies—such as there are in Liberia—such as there are in Sierra Leone and on the Gambia—such as there are at home and abroad—but such as are always few ; the jewels amongst mankind—which can be got wholesale, by thousands and tens of thousands, *no where*.

And in relation to the people at large of the United States, what are they but our brethren—of one race and of one sort with ourselves ? Where is the man in Britain who has not a father, mother, brother, sister, friend, in the United States ? Who but they are sending out with us the glorious Bible over the whole world ? Who keep pace with us, or go before us, but they, in every effort of Christian love ? From whence, like the United States, do we hear the soul humbling and soul ennobling voice of Revivals ? And do we not owe our Temperance Societies to them ? Shall we then foster in the United States a source of ruin, beneath which we ourselves are writhing, and to the deadly guilt of which we have awakened ? Shall we encourage the United States in stiffening their necks against God and against their unoffending brother ? Shall we speak peace to the oppressor while he is impenitent ? or shall we assist in outraging the weak because the strong invite us courteously to their whitewashed revel ? No. The United States are worthy of better things. By the ties of blood—by the stronger ties of love, woven for ever round many of our hearts—by the ties of Christ, stronger than all—we owe better things to the United States. Let us remonstrate with them ; let us rebuke them even as brother rebukes the brother whom he loves ; let us recall them to Jesus, from whose word and whose example, in this respect, they are so fearfully wandering ; let us set them the example even as the father should set the example of all righteousness to the child of his heart ; and if they *will* still cause the poor negro to perish ; if they will still refuse to allow him any alternative but *slavery*, *persecution* or *exile*, let the applause and the reward be theirs alone. We shall have cleared our skirts of their blood, in having done all that we could do to win them to repentance and to love. Of their blood, did I say ? And will they die ? I cannot believe it. Truth is striding forth in his glory amongst them ; love has softened and is softening, many of their proudest hearts. The Gospel is proclaimed in their ears by men like Paul : and from the gray hair and from the lisping lip ; from the vigour of maturity and from the freshness of youth ; where the sunrise assembly is convened for prayer, and where the silence of the closet witnesses the commun-

ion between his children and their God, a heart-voice is arising from black and white alike that never rises in vain. No: the people of the United States—Davids in the matter of Uriah, though they be in relation to the black man—the people of the United States cannot perish; for there are praying souls amongst them, souls that agonize for their people, with their God. And even now, perhaps, some Nathan is receiving his commission to cry, with converting power, to the slave-master and the colonizationist—'Thou art the man!'

Finally: Let not the colored man, whether enslaved or free, be discouraged; God left his own chosen people 400 years in Egypt, (Gen. xv. 13,) while the Egyptians and the Amorites were, year by year, filling up the measure of their iniquities and making themselves altogether meet for destruction. The same God is God still, and still the poor and the oppressed are as much his care as ever; and still as much as ever He resisteth the proud, and is the enemy of the oppressor. Bear up, brethren! God has children and servants both amongst yourselves and abroad, who enter into all your sympathies, and who are carrying you on their hearts in prayer, to His mercy-seat. Take courage! Verdant as the bay-leaf, though be the flourishing of the wicked for a season, yet he shall perish. *He is heaping treasure together for the last days.*—[James v. 3.] Thus saith the Lord—'I, even I, am He that comforteth you. Who art thou, that thou shouldst be afraid of a man that shall die, and of the son of man that shall be made as grass; and forgettest the Lord thy Maker, that hath stretched forth the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth, and fearest continually every day because of the fury of the oppressor, as if he were ready to destroy. And where is the fury of the oppressor!'—[Isa. li. 12, 13.]

Be of good courage, brethren! Christianity is shaking off its dust: the rottenness of the whited sepulchres is coming out; the Gospel is resuming its healing power; there *is* balm in Gilead; there *is* a physician there. The moral sense of the world is awaking;—Despotism is quailing—Falsehood is uncovering—Truth is about to triumph—Liberty to be restored—and *Prejudice*, that fiend of darkness, that bane of the earth, that brand of the white man, searing him with infamy; that bane of the black man, tightening his chains or condeming him to exile—*Prejudice* shall be abolished, and over it, as over Babylon, soon shall be written—'Prejudice, the tyrant of the tyrant—the waster of the poor—the liar—the coward—the mother of abominations, is fallen, is fallen!'

And here, in concluding, let us once more advert to the alternatives mentioned in page 7, viz.—open butchery—emancipation and incorporation—abandonment of the country by the masters—or draining off the blacks, by transporting them to a distant and barbarous land.

And, while we admire and adore the benevolent designs of an all-gracious God, as manifested in South America, by the emancipation and amalgation of the whole colored race; let us abhor and reject the object of the American Colonization Society, which would frustrate those benevolent designs, and keep the family of man asunder, by preventing the increase of the colored people, whether enslaved or free, and by getting rid of their finest minds, that those, who remain behind, may always continue a separate and degraded class.

EXTRACTS.

Extracts from an English work, entitled—'FACTS designed to exhibit the REAL CHARACTER AND TENDENCY of the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY. By Clericus. Liverpool: Printed and sold by Edgerton Smith & Co., Lord-Street.'

'FIAT JUSTITIA, RUAT CŒLUM.'

'This Society commends itself to the countenance and support of philanthropic minds by a declaration of its humane intentions and benevolent effects. It is clearly the duty of every person thus appealed to, carefully to examine, and rigidly to scrutinize its claims; to see how far its pretensions are borne out by facts, and to ascertain its probable influence on the destinies of the colored population of the United States. It is alleged that emancipation could not be safe or practicable in that country without such a valve as that now supplied by the Society; that the free colored people are a degraded race, and can never stand on equal ground with their white brethren; that the removal of this population will civilize and evangelize Africa, and effectually stop the progress of the slave trade. There is some inconsistency in these statements, if not palpable contradictions, and a careful examination of the pretensions of this Society must go far to convince every candid and impartial mind of the unsoundness of its constitution. Invidious as it may appear to entertain a doubt of the excellency of a scheme patronized by men of character and fame, professing, as it does, to aim at the welfare of the African, it is, unquestionably, right to judge it by its own acts and words, and if found contrary to religion and justice, to denounce it as unworthy of being supported by humane men. It will be the object of these pages to unfold the real character of the American Colonization Society by an appeal to its own accredited and published documents, and then to judge of its worth by the principles of humanity, justice, and religion.

This course, in part, has been objected to by its advocates in this country and in America. On quotations being printed from the speeches made at its annual meetings, and published with its reports, the plea has been set up that it is unfair to judge the Society by the opinions of the speakers on its annual assemblings. But we ask where lies the unfairness of this procedure? Would the Bible, or Missionary, or Anti-Slavery societies of Great Britain feel themselves aggrieved by a reference to the speeches made at their public meetings, as developing the views which they entertained, or the motives by which they are actuated? Certainly not! For though on some minor points connected with the workings of their machinery a diversity of opinion may be tolerated, yet on all that vitally affected the interests and objects of their different institutions, unanimity of opinion would pervade the minds of their advocates. The Colonization Society, by publishing the speeches of its speakers with their annual reports, become responsible for the opinions thus set forth, and evidently manifest their approval of these sentiments by this act, especially as nothing in the shape of disapprobation is issued by the managers to warn the public of the dangerous and monstrous notions thus advocated. Moreover, these speakers are the warmest friends of the Society; by the labors of some of them the Society was originated, and they are found on its committees, and direct its movements. The meanness and jesuitism of shifting the grave charges brought against the Society by pleading that it is not responsible for the views of its advocates are obvious, and it is to be hoped that this device will no longer serve the purposes for which it has been resorted to.'

* * * * * * * * * * * *

'One powerful objection to the Society is found in the circumstance, that just in proportion as its principles prevail, the affections of the benevolent are alienated from the colored population, and anti-slavery efforts are checked and neutralized. It calls off the attention of the Christian public from the great and solemn duty of seeking to unloose every burden, and to let the oppressed go free; it lulls the consciences of men to slumber, and deludes them into the belief that they are engaged in doing all that their position allows for the benefit of the negro. The free colored people of New-York have published an address, in which they declare 'the Friends have been the last to aid the system pursued; and in proportion as they become Colonizationists, they become less active, and less friendly to our welfare as citizens of the United States.' A letter from Arnold Buffum, President of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, recently received by a distinguished philanthropist in this country, contains the following melancholy declaration:—

'We have had anti-slavery societies in this country upwards of forty years; and we now see upwards of 300,000 persons enjoying freedom and gospel privileges, the result of anti-slavery principles and measures, which were producing a constant succession of emancipations, until the Colonization Society was organized. But now we have to mourn that these principles have been nearly paralyzed, and that emancipations have almost ceased, through the withering influence of that scheme. By establishing the principle that blacks are not to be free in this country, they reconcile the slave to his bondage; by exciting unholy prejudices against free blacks, they reconcile the Christian community to the continuance of slavery, and thus put a stop to anti-slavery efforts. The press and the pulpit have been almost unanimously enlisted in the unholy crusade against the free colored people; and the poor black or brown American children have been for the last ten years almost deserted by the sympathies of human nature: scarcely a tongue was heard to lisp an accent in their behalf.'

Such are the fruits, and what can be the character of the tree! Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. Can the same fountain send forth bitter water and sweet? Judging of this Society from its consequences, it deserves unqualified disapprobation, and so far from claiming the support of Christian men, it should meet with their decided, united, and persevering opposition.

It is well worthy of observation, that the colonizing scheme was originated and carried into effect without the slightest regard to the wishes and feelings of the people upon whom it was destined immediately to act. It never became a question with its advocates, whether the free people were willing to be exiled; their prejudices or inclinations were never for a moment consulted; and it is now well known that they are decidedly opposed to the banishment proposed. This is fully admitted in the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Society, page 9.—'When the Society is spoken of as an institution which is to relieve us of a present and pressing evil, and which may relieve the country of a prospective, and, perhaps, not distant danger; when such views are strongly urged upon the self-interest of the nation, the people of color are not ignorant of this aspect of the subject. They read—they hear—and when they are spoken of as a nuisance to be got rid of, they prove themselves men, men of like passions with us, by resenting it. Their prejudices are roused: they stand aloof from the design. And the fact is not to be concealed, *that the free colored people, taken as a com-*

munity, look on our undertaking with disaffection.' Still this is not to be regarded; it is not suffered to retard the operation of the plan; and *nolens volens* the free colored people must be colonized, because the Society denounces them as an incubus on the energies and prosperity of its enlightened republic. They have publicly met in New-York, in Boston, in Philadelphia, and in all the principal cities of the Union, and protested, in affecting and imploring terms, against the iniquity of banishing them from the land of their fathers. They say, justly—'We are not strangers, we are American citizens: our fathers were among the first that peopled this country; many of them fought, and bled, and died for the gaining of her liberties; and shall we forsake their tombs and flee to an unknown land? No! Let us remain over them, and weep, until the day arrive when Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hand unto God.' At Philadelphia they resolved—'We will never separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country; they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrong; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them than in fancied advantages for a season.' These pathetic appeals and noble determinations are lost on the benevolent supporters of the Colonization Society. Their avowed resolution is to transport them *with their own consent.* But how is this to be obtained? The Society is doing it effectually. Its operations widen the breach between this people and the whites, by increasing the prejudices of the latter a hundred fold; and to this may be traced the recent enactment of the most cruel and persecuting laws. Louisiana has just passed a law prohibiting Sunday schools for the instruction of the blacks, on a penalty of five hundred dollars for the first offence, and *death* for the second! It was also enacted that whosoever shall make use of language in public or private, or make use of signs or actions having a tendency to produce discontent among the colored population, shall suffer imprisonment at hard labor, not less than three years, nor more than twenty-one years, or *death*—at the discretion of the court! The states of Ohio, Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and several others, have passed laws of a most iniquitious and rigorous nature, aiming at the expulsion and persecution of the free colored people. By the aid of such zealous coadjutors the design of the Society may be accomplished. The miserable victims of such cruel oppression may in time, give their consent to leave the land of his birth and be located far from the haunts of persecuting white men. The legislators who have made these unrighteous laws are in their individual and collective capacity advocates of the Colonization Society.

All this is justified by the fallacious assumption that Africa is their native land, and in this lying pretext they are sent to the pestilential shores of a barbarous and heathen country. 'Africa,' says the Society, 'is the black man's home physically; morally he should aspire for a residence within her boundaries; Liberia *is the birthplace of the black man*, to which his constitution is peculiarly adapted.' The ignorance displayed in this assertion would be highly amusing but for the painful effects which result from its adoption as an undoubted truth. Is Africa the birthplace of the man born in America? Is it more the birthplace of the colored than of the white American? The notion is preposterous. And yet on this stupid assumption the Colonization Society argues the justice of banishing the colored people, and appeals to the inefficacy of Christianity for support to the act. Hear its language at page 17 of the Fifteenth Annual Report.—'The *managers* consider it clear that causes exist, and are operating to prevent their improvement and elevation to any considerable extent as a class in this country, which are fixed not only beyond the control of the

friends of humanity, but of any human power. Christianity cannot do for them here what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the colored man, nor of the white man, nor of Christianity, but an ordination of Providence, and no more to be changed than the laws of nature.'

The impiety of this reasoning is painfully obvious; it is an attempt to charge that God who is no respecter of persons, and who has made of one blood all nations of men, with the crimes perpetrated by the haughty whites against their weak and unoffending colored brethren. But why are they degraded? and where lies the impossibilities of their mental and moral elevation? Not in physical incapacity, as is plainly shown by numerous instances in which the result has been accomplished, but simply in the prejudices and hatred of the whites, which the scheme of colonizing is nourishing and deepening. What must be thought of the men who use all means to depress and keep in ignorance the colored people, and then make that ignorance and depression a plea for their expulsion? In the year 1831 it was proposed to establish a college, for the education of colored youth, to be located at New-Haven, Connecticut. This project, so far from being acceptable to the philanthropists of that city, awakened their alarm and indignation, and several public meetings were called to oppose the measure: these men of nobler blood resolved to 'resist the establishment of the college by every lawful means,' fearing it would 'propagate sentiments favorable to the immediate emancipation of the slaves.' This occurred not in a slaveholding State, but in one free from that abomination, and distinguished for its enlightened liberality. 'If they do these things in the green tree, what will be done in the dry?'

[From the Anti-Slavery (London) Reporter.]

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

We continue to look with some solicitude for the appearance of the mass of evidence which was laid before both Houses of Parliament, in the last session, on the subject of Colonial slavery, but its publication is still delayed. While expecting it, we take the opportunity of turning our eyes, for a brief space, to the United States of America, in order to mark the progress of the question which occupies our thought in that mighty portion of the family of man. The apparent apathy with which it was too long regarded in that country, as in this, seems to be giving place to an intense agitation of the public mind, obviously big with important results; and, while the wicked and anti-christian prejudices of color are acquiring, in one direction, a deeper and sterner malignity; in another, a more uncompromising and determined hostility to slavery and all its fearful adjuncts is taking root, and spreading itself widely thoughout the Christian part, especially, of the American population. This feeling seems of late to have been strengthened by the fuller development of the principles and plans of the Colonization Society, which, though for a time almost unnoticed in its course, has of late come forward with a startling boldness in the avowal of its deliberate purposes, and of the cruel and unjust expedients by which, it is alleged, those purposes are to be effected; and the real tendency of which, it is strenuously maintained, is not to lessen, but to aggravate and perpetuate, the worst evils of Negro slavery.

Various publications have recently appeared in America which profess to expose to public reprobation the flimsy pretences which serve to disguise from superficial observers, the innate and essential deformities of the system of this society, and to delude many benevolent individuals into yielding it their countenance and support. These works are not generally accessible to the British reader. One of them, however, is now before us, which undertakes effectually to expose the iniquity of this Colonization scheme. It bears the following title :—'Thoughts on African Colonization; or an impartial exhibition of the doctrines, principles, and purposes of the American Colonization Society, together with the resolutions, addresses, and remonstrances of the free people of color,' by William Lloyd Garrison, of Boston, in New-England.

This exposure is conducted by Mr. Garrison with great ability and effect, and his proofs are drawn from sources which appear unexceptionable; namely, the reports of the Colonization Society itself, the published proceedings of its public meetings, and the discussions contained in a periodical work called the 'African Repository,' which is the avowed and acknowledged organ of the sentiments and plans of the Society. From these documents he has drawn so largely as to obviate the suspicion of his having misrepresented those sentiments and plans.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

But we turn for a moment to a well-meant and powerful effort, by a gentleman residing in this country, to dissipate the mist which envelopes the Colonization scheme, and to exhibit it in its length and breadth of evil. We allude to a pamphlet by Mr. Charles Stuart, printed at Liverpool, by Egerton and Co., entitled 'Prejudice Vincible; or the practicability of conquering prejudice by better means than by slavery and exile in relation to the Colonization Society.' This pamphlet is prefaced by a letter from Mr. James Cropper of Liverpool, in which he fortifies, by his respectable authority, the strong, and as they appear to us, conclusive statements of Mr. Stuart.

It would be impossible for us to follow this pamphlet, any more than the work of Mr. Garrison, into all its details. We may, however, hereafter resume the subject. In the mean time we would merely observe that those details are fearfully portentous. Suffice it to say, that the broad facts of the case, as stated by Mr. Stuart, and borne out by the evidence adduced by Mr. Garrison, are these :—

Out of the whole population of the United States—about thirteen millions—upwards of two millions are held in a most degrading and brutal state of slavery, under laws even worse than those of the slave colonies of Great Britain. About half a million more are free persons of color; free, however, only partially, being subject to malignant exclusions and persecutions, merely because they differ in complexion from ten or eleven millions of their fellow subjects. These two oppressed and persecuted classes are rapidly increasing. Their increase terrifies the slave party. 'To remove the free class,' say they, 'is mercy to ourselves, as they form a perpetual source of discontent and excitement to the slave.' Their first object therefore is to expatriate, if possible, the whole of the free class, that the slaves may be more easily kept under. The scheme, indeed, is wholly impracticable and visionary, even if the free were willing to go into exile at the call of the Colonization Society. But they are not willing. They protest loudly, and almost universally, against this cruel project of expatriation. Their almost universal feeling may be traced in the resolutions the colored classes have adopted and promulgated in all parts of the United States. * * * * * * * * * * *

This stubborn resistance of the colored classes to the plan of banishment from their native country has led the Colonizationists to contemplate still more decisive measures, with a view to compel their expatriation. In the Virginia House of Delegates the language employed was to this effect:—

"'It is idle to talk about not resorting to force,' said Mr. Broadnax, a member, 'every body must look to the introduction of force of some kind or other—and it is in truth a question of expediency, of moral justice, of political good faith—whether we shall fairly delineate our whole system on the face of the bill, or leave the acquisition of extorted consent to other processes. The real question, the only question of magnitude to be settled, is the great preliminary question—Do you intend to send the free persons of color out of Virginia, or not?

"'If the free Negroes are willing to go, they will go—if not willing they must be compelled to go. Some gentlemen think it politic not now to insert this feature in the bill, though they proclaim their readiness to resort to it when it becomes necessary; they think that for a year or two a sufficient number will consent to go, and then the rest can be compelled. For my part, I deem it better to approach the question and settle it at once, and avow it openly.

"'I have already expressed it as my opinion that few, very few, will *voluntarily* consent to emigrate, if no COMPULSORY MEASURE be adopted.

"'I will not express, in its full extent, the idea I entertain of what has been done, or what enormities will be perpetrated to induce this class of persons to leave the State. Who does not know that when a free Negro, by crime or otherwise, has rendered himself obnoxious to a neighborhood, how easy it is for a party to visit him one night, take him from his bed and family, and apply to him the gentle admonition of a severe flagellation, to induce him to *consent* to go away? In a few nights the dose can be repeated, perhaps increased, until, in the language of the physicians, *quantum suff.* has been administered to produce the desired operation; and the fellow then becomes *perfectly willing* to move away.

"'Indeed, Sir, ALL OF US LOOK TO FORCE of some kind or other, direct or indirect, moral or physical, legal or illegal. Many who are opposed, they say, to any compulsory feature in the bill, desire to introduce such severe regulations into our police laws—such restrictions of their existing privileges—such inability to hold property, obtain employment, rent residences, &c., as to make it impossible for them to remain amongst us. *Is not this force?*'

"Mr Fisher said:—'If we wait until the free Negroes consent to leave the State, we shall wait until time is no more. *They never will give their consent;* and, he believed, if the House amended the bill as proposed, and the compulsory principle were stricken out, this class of people would be forced to leave by the harsh treatment of the whites.'

'What a revelation, what a confession is here! The free blacks taken from their beds, and severely flagellated, to make them willing to emigrate! And legislative compulsion openly advocated to accomplish this nefarious project! Yes, the gentlemen say truly, 'few, very few will *voluntarily* consent to emigrate'—'they never will give their consent'—and therefore they must be expelled by force! It is true, the bill proposed by Broadnax was rejected by a small majority; but it serves to illustrate the spirit of the colonization leaders.' p. 74.

This is really too bad; it makes the very blood to curdle in one's veins! The only ray of consolation which we discover breaking out from this lurid cloud is in the institution of Anti-Slavery Societies in the United States, formed for the very purpose of denouncing and opposing such

abominations, and of extinguishing slavery altogether. We have before us the account of one recently established in New-England, the objects of which are declared to be 'to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity, and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States, to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in regard to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political privileges with the whites.' In their address they denounce the principles and plans of the Colonization Society in the very strongest terms of reprehension. We trust that no friends of the Anti-Slavery cause in this country will be found to lend an ear to any of the insidious and delusive representations of the advocates of that Society, and still less to aid them with funds.

[From the Liverpool Mercury of Oct. 19, 1832.]

'Audi alteram partem.'

Mr. Thompson, the eloquent lecturer upon the colonial system, has informed us that he entertained as favorable an opinion of the American Colonization Society as we did, until he perused some documents which effected a change in his views. Mr. Buckingham, also, and several other men of talents, have made similar avowals. For our own parts, we do not think it possible for any honest and candid man to resist the evidence contained in the extracts from the reports of the Colonization Society itself. The framers of those reports have certainly committed themselves by holding out different representations to different persons. They have, according to their own showing, recommended the Colonization scheme to the American slaveholders, as favorable to the permanence of slavery, or, in their own words, as a means 'to provide and keep open *a drain for the excess of increase* beyond the occasions of profitable employment;' and again, in their 14th Report, pages 12 and 13, they say, 'the slave owner, so far from having just cause to complain of the Colonization Society, has reason to congratulate himself that in this institution a channel is opened up, in which the public feeling and public action can flow on without doing violence to his rights.' On the other hand, when they seek to interest the abolitionists in the operations of the society, they profess their ultimate object to be the extinction of slavery, and declare that all their exertions tend to the attainment of that object. Whatever they may say in America, we know at least that their advocates in Great Britain have rested the cause principally on this ground. This sort of double dealing, though it may answer the purpose of the moment, cannot long serve any cause, and must, in the end, materially injure it. We ourselves were misled by it in the first instance, but, having got a glimpse at the other side of the picture, we have avowed the change wrought in our opinions by it, and, as we have already intimated, several persons for whom we entertain a high respect have followed our example.

There is one gentleman in this town who is always amongst the foremost in the promotion of every good work, and who subscribed liberally towards the furtherance of the colonization scheme. As we know him by long experience to be an upright and candid man, we recommend to his attention, if he has not already seen it, the pamphlet lately published by Capt. Stuart, comprising the letter of Mr. James Cropper to Mr. Thomas Clarkson. We feel convinced that its perusal will work a material change in his opinions, and that our honest and intelligent townsman, Mr. Thornely, (for it is of him we speak,) will not hesitate to avow that change to his friends, and to those who, like us, entertain the highest opinion of his judgment and his integrity.

7547 add. Sept. 2. 1866

SOLDIERS' MEMORIAL SOCIETY.

REPORTS ON FREE WHITE SCHOOLS AT RICHMOND.

Mr. Washburn's Report.

RICHMOND, VA., July 1, 1866.

REV. E. E. HALE,
Secretary Boston Soldiers' Memorial Society.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have the honor to acknowledge the generous forecast and benevolent wisdom which has led your Society to assume the support of the Hollywood Free Schools, and beg leave to submit the following report of our work during the month of June.

The American Missionary Association fully appreciated, I believe, the importance of connecting the education of whites with their efforts for the colored people, and also appreciated the importance of this particular field. But peculiar reasons have led them to surrender a field to your fostering care to which they still look with great interest.

The schools, as assumed by you, consisted of an interme- hool for boys, an intermediate school for girls, and a school for both sexes, with the following teachers : — . J. Miles, boys' intermediate school ; Miss S. E. Foster, mediate school ; Miss C. R. Thropp, primary school ; W. Hovey, primary school.

E. J. Washburn has devoted the time to visiting the and distressed, and has had special charge of the dis- ition of supplies. She will report in person to the Chair- n of your committee on clothing whenever convenient.

Our labors have been crowned with success truly surprising.

1. In a literary point, pupils, who, at the commencement of the term, could not write simple numbers correctly, and were entirely ignorant of grammar, history, and geography, and,

worse than all, had little, if any, of the general information which at home children seem to inhale with the New-England air, are now well posted in vulgar and decimal fractions, and performing examples in interest and partial payments, parse common sentences, are familiar with the history of their own country, and know something of the great mass of knowledge comprised under the term "geography."

In music, we have been specially distinguished; and many, I believe, have developed a love of learning which is a promise of future attainment.

Those taught to read and write may be reckoned almost by hundreds.

2. Morally, our boys introduced themselves as the "Oregon Bull-dogs," and the "Sidney Smashers." Rock battles were the order of the day; and many bore the marks of this savage sport, and in character, still more plainly, marks of the strange life they had led during confederate times. Through all this period hardly one had been in school, but they had wandered at will through the streets and camps about the city. We took them from the street; and, had it not been for Northern philanthropy, there they must have remained until now.

But now they are quite orderly and respectful; careful of personal appearance; old feuds are forgotten. They don't throw stones, damn the Yankees, or chew tobacco. They have overcome, very much, tardiness, and other vices very common at the South.

When we open the doors for Sabbath school, we fi[nd] there too early, with their elder brothers and sisters, a[nd] times parents; and, when their teachers leave them, th[ey] the choicest of their scanty treasures, and bring them[,] with tears, as keepsakes and mementoes. But we shou[ld] forget them. They were naked, and we clothed them; ign[o]and by us have been instructed. Now they are ours by t[he] own free will and accord, in thought, sentiment, and affecti[on] Who would not work in such a field to gather such a harvest

Our Sabbath school numbers over three hundred, including quite a goodly number of parents, who have been induced to join us, and act as teachers. We have had, of the natives,

teachers from six different city churches. The parents will follow the children even into a Yankee Sunday school.

3. As a work of reconstruction.

After the schools were ready for it, we procured a band, invited the military and the parents of the children, and raised over our schools, on the old rebel staff, the stars and stripes; while the schools, united, joined in singing, "Rally 'round the flag, boys, rally once again." It was all carried through without disturbance, and, since then, the dear old flag has waved over our establishment.

We sing patriotic songs in school quite as much as is the practice at the North. Our larger boys have, at their own request, put up a flag in their school-room, with portraits of Grant, Banks, and other Union leaders. And only a few days ago, when told that they might decorate, as they wished, the school-room for the closing exercises of the term, I noticed that special care had been taken to wreathe with choice garlands these same Union pictures.

The Richmond press is either silent, or else openly approves of our work; and the time is not far distant when the old aristocracy of the South must withdraw its opposition to free schools and general education, or lose all influence with the common people, the men who hold the power politically, if they themselves knew it.

This influence has been obtained, and good feeling expressed, while it has been known, that I was also connected with the colored schools; that we had in our family six teachers of colored schools; and we also kept up a colored Sabbath-school within twenty feet of the one for white children, at the same hour.

4. Visitors.

Miss Foster's register shows a hundred and forty visitors during the term, and among them some of the best names in our country. We have been encouraged by their appreciation and interest expressed in many valuable ways.

The commanding general put himself on record several times, that our schools were the best work of reconstruction in progress at the South. Gov. Pierpoint was enthusiastic in

his praise. Mrs. Pierpoint remarked to me, "I wish I could send my children to just such schools as these."

The different departments have been about equally visited, and many names might be given of visitors.

5. In support of the military.

By recommendation of Gen. Brown, Gen. Terry has continued to me the possession of the Laboratory Buildings, now occupied by the schools, for the use of your Society, together with quarters now occupied at the "Bakery," in the city proper, for teachers and employés.

Every aid possible is promised in the future, and has been rendered in the past.

In conclusion, let me add, that, while all have done well, the schools taught by Misses Foster and Miles are worthy of special praise, and would command it even in Massachusetts. More than six hundred children, cursed by a system for which we are in part responsible, and by the treason of political leaders whose selfish wickedness has so long perpetuated the curse, at present helpless and hopeless without your aid, seek from your wise liberality a continuance of the privileges of education, hitherto highly prized and well improved.

Respectfully submitted,

Very truly yours,

ANDREW WASHBURN, *Supt.*

In connection with this report, the enclosed letters were read, at the meeting of the Society, from

MAJOR-GEN. J. W. TURNER.
REV. F. McCARTHY.
PROF. GEO. WHIPPLE.
EXTRACT FROM RICHMOND DESPATCH, June 30, 1866.

From Gen. Turner.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF VA.
RICHMOND, VA., May 12, 1866.

REV. SAMUEL L. HUNT,
Supt. American Missionary Society.

DEAR SIR, — It is with great regret that I learn there is a probability that the free white schools, which were established in this city last year,

under the auspices of the American Union Commission, will be discontinued. Having been in command of the City of Richmond for the last year, I think I have been in a position to judge of the influence which these schools have exercised on this people: in my opinion, no single effort made by your associations at the North have done so much good as the establishment of, and the manner in which, these schools have been conducted.

We cannot have political reconstruction in this country till we have accomplished a social reconstruction. The establishment of these schools tends as much as any other one thing that can be done to bring about this object.

I should like to see more of them all over the South; at least, that assistance may be given to continue those already established in this city.

This city, from its having been the capital of the confederacy, exercises a great social influence over the State of Virginia, and has its influence, indeed, all over the South; so that, if the people of Richmond are ever brought to entertain a kindly feeling toward us of the North, it would be doing much, from the effect it would have all over the South.

I should feel that much ground would be lost in our reconstruction if these schools were discontinued. I have taken the liberty of writing these few lines from my conviction of the good work these schools have been doing, and the interest, therefore, I have taken in them.

Begging pardon for this intrusion,

I remain, very sincerely, your obedient servant,

JOHN W. TURNER,
Brevet Maj. Gen. Com.

From Rev. F. McCarthy.

RICHMOND, VA., May 11, 1866.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—

These free schools have been our comfort and our bulwark. Nothing else has saved us from unmerciful persecution. But the good accomplished for the minds and morals of this locality by these schools has been so great, that none could speak any thing against the principles of those who did the noble work.

Rumors have been spread recently to the effect that they would be discontinued, and the effect on the community has been perfectly appalling.

I am greatly afraid that every thing we have accomplished for sound principles for twelve months will come unravelled if the schools stop.

The effect of the schools has been good on my own Sabbath school and

church, and the effect on these of stopping them would be disastrous in the extreme.

I and my people have taken a bold stand, in advance of the entire community; and, if there is the appearance of having been deserted by our Northern friends, the effect will be so bad that I assure you my heart, and a good many men's hearts, will fairly bleed.

Do, my dear brother, I entreat you, as you love your country and your principles, do not suffer us to sink into despair.

Very truly, your brother in Christ,

F. McCarthy.

From Prof. Geo. Whipple.

New York, July 17, 1866.

Mr. Andrew Washburn, Auburndale, Mass.

Dear Sir, — I enclose you the original letters (not copies) of Gen. Turner and Rev. Mr. McCarthy.

Please preserve the letters, and return them to me when your purpose is attained. I wish to keep them on my files. You can have copies taken if you wish.

I am glad to learn that there is some prospect of the continuance of that school. I deem it one of great importance, and which, if successfully conducted on the plan we agreed on, will do very much toward solving the problem of reconstruction in Virginia.

Thanks be to God, and to his agents in Congress! the Bureau Bill is safe, beyond the power of the President.

Yours &c.,

Geo. Whipple,

Cor. Sec.

From the Richmond (Va.) Despatch, June 30, 1866.

CLOSE OF THE LABORATORY FREE SCHOOLS.

On last Wednesday, the free schools held during the last eight or nine months in the buildings contiguous to the Hollywood Cemetery closed their second session for a vacation of three months. A few words about their origin, and what they have accomplished, may interest our readers.

These schools were originated by the American Union Commission, and were taught during the first session in the Baptist and Methodist churches on Belvidere Hill. In order to accommodate the numbers that applied, — from Belvidere Hill, from Sidney, and, indeed, from the city proper, — they

were moved to their present location. The Laboratory is confiscated property, appropriated by the authorities to this use. The furniture of the schools consists in part of the desks of the Confederate Congress, purchased at auction, and a number of beautiful settees loaned by the Clay-street Baptist Church. The institution comprises a select school for boys, a select school for girls, and a large mixed school for the younger pupils of both sexes. There have been in attendance as many as four hundred pupils at one time ; and, from first to last, more than six hundred have received instruction, many of them the children of deceased confederate soldiers. On the first of June, the Union Commission withdrew its support from the school, and the Soldiers' Memorial Society of Boston assumed the expense of continuing them.

The teachers at the Laboratory Free Schools have made no secret of their Union sentiments, but have never done or said any thing to lessen the self-respect of the children. The utmost freedom of opinion was allowed both ways, and with good effect. The friendship between the teachers and scholars became very cordial; and, when the closing scene came, the girls were all in tears, and the boys acknowledged they felt as badly as the girls. An immense amount of good has been done. Hundreds of children who would otherwise have spent the year in roaming over the fields, either in idleness or engaged in vicious practices, have spent the time in gaining the rudiments of an English education. Many of them have learned to read who perhaps would have learned in no other way ; and many have acquired a taste for study and an ambition to learn which, in the cases of some, may make them men and women of mark. We hope the enterprise may be continued from year to year, until some general system of free-school education shall supersede it.

The following letter from Mr. Superintendent Manly and from Gen. Brown shows the value of these institutions in their estimation :—

BUREAU OF REFUGEES, FREEDMEN, AND ABANDONED LANDS,
Headquarters Assistant Commissioner, State of Virginia.

RICHMOND, VA., July 19, 1866.

REV. EDWARD E. HALE,
President Memorial Association, &c.

MY DEAR SIR, — I desire to express to you for myself, and for many others, the interest the Northern and the native loyal people in Richmond have in the continuance of the white school at Hollywood. It was a first

rate success *as a school*, and decidedly superior in discipline and literary results to the old established schools of this city. It was a success in securing the confidence and affection of many, and the respectful attention of others, whose strongest sentiments hitherto have been hatred and contempt for Northern men and Northern ideas.

The school is still needed for what it will do practically in the work of reconstruction, by substituting liberal knowledge for narrow prejudices; it is needed as our perpetual protest against the spirit of caste that prevails here among the whites, especially in their educational system, and as an unanswerable proof that Boston and New England are not what they are so generally believed to be in this latitude, *mere* negropholists. We can point to that school, and shut the mouths of rebel cavillers. But I do not need to enumerate, to you at least, the arguments in favor of these schools.

The management of this interest, by Mr. Washburn, was all that could be desired by its friends, — it was economical, judicious, and thorough.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

R. M. Manly,

Superintendent Freedmen's Schools, Va.

Richmond, Va., July 20, 1866.

I fully concur in the above.

O. Brown,

Brevet Brigadier-General.

ANNUAL REPORT

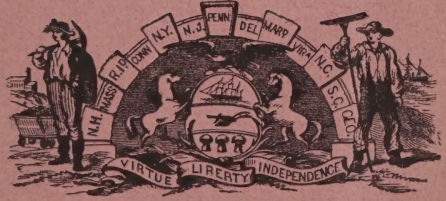
OF THE

Superintendent of Soldiers' Orphans,

MADE TO THE

GOVERNOR IN PURSUANCE OF LAW,

For the year 1867.



HARRISBURG:
SINGERLY & MYERS, STATE PRINTERS.
1868.

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Superintendent of Soldiers' Orphans,

MADE TO THE

GOVERNOR IN PURSUANCE OF LAW,

For the year 1867.

Sam. R. Betts, Feb. 26, 1868.

84305

REPORT.

DEPARTMENT SOLDIERS' ORPHANS' SCHOOLS,
HARRISBURG, *December* 7, 1867.

To His Excellency, John W. Geary, Governor of the Commonwealth:

DEAR GOVERNOR:—I herewith submit a report of the operations of this Department for the year ending on the 30th day of November, 1867. As all bills must be settled, and all statistics brought up to this date, a full and satisfactory report cannot be made without the aid of a much larger clerical force than that now at my command. As, however, the law makes the year close on the first day of June in each year hereafter, subsequent reports can be made more at leisure, and with more fullness and care.

Upon my appointment, on the 29th of April last, five months after the commencement of the year as now reported for, my first step was to thoroughly acquaint myself with the condition and requirements of the thirty-seven institutions then employed as soldiers' orphans' schools. To this end, all of the first two months that could be spared from the examination and settlement of over-due accounts, and the current office work, was devoted to the visitation of these institutions. An intimate connection with one of the advanced schools, since the commencement of the system, and a close study of the subject, in all its bearings, during this time, enabled me to become quite familiar with the actual condition and wants of these institutions during this tour of observation. Both inspectors accompanied me, in order that we could familiarly discuss the condition of things as we found them, and adopt such uniform course of action as our investigations might suggest. Subsequent events have, in my opinion, proved the wisdom of this course.

Two serious difficulties met me at the outset, in the administration of this trust, and contributed largely to the want of that complete and immediate success so much desired: First, an insufficient appropriation, and second, want of proper accommodations for the advanced schools, system in their management, and efficiency in ability and number of the help employed.

According to the report of my predecessor, there were, on the first of December, 1866, 1,546 pupils in the advanced, and 1,135 pupils in the primary

schools, and 125 accepted applications on file. These, if no additional admissions had been ordered, except to supply the place of the few discharges, would have cost as follows:

347 primary orphans in homes, at $110 till June 1,	$46,585 00	
Do., at $105 after June 1, and till December 1,	44,467 50	
257 orphans at Loysville, Jacksonville and Andersonburg, at $150 till June 1	19,275 00	
257 orphans at Loysville, Jacksonville and Andersonburg, at $125 after June 1, till Dec. 1	16,062 50	
31 orphans at Emaus Orphan House, at $175 till June 1	2,712 50	
31 orphans at Emaus Orphan House, at $125 after June 1, till December 1	1,987 50	
Additional cost of primary orphans that would have been transferred to advanced schools during the year:		
100 at $150 till June 1	2,000 00	
100 at $140 after June 1, and till December 1	1,750 00	
1,546 advanced pupils at $150 till June 1	115,950 00	
1,546 advanced pupils at $140 after June 1, and till December 1	108,220 00	
		$359,010 00
Clothing 1,546 pupils at $25 each		38,650 00
Do.....200 additional		5,000 00
General expenses and partial relief		10,000 00
Total cost per annum		412,660 00
Appropriation per annum		350,000 00
Leaving an annual balance unprovided for of		62,660 00

But prior to the last of April, and mainly before the passage of the appropriation act, one hundred and eighty-three additional primary, and one hundred and thirty-five advanced pupils, had been actually admitted, which at the same rates, would have increased the cost about $40,000, and the deficit to at least $102,000 per annum.

The accepted applications on file had also increased from one hundred and twenty-five, on the first of December, to three hundred and eighty-three on the first of May, notwithstanding these admissions, and the issue of orders not yet presented.

Hence, *what to do* under the circumstances was a question that met me at the commencement of my administration, and that involved the gravest responsibilities.

The number already under the care of the State could not be retained without largely exceeding the appropriation; but would it be wise or just to discharge from the homes and schools in which they had been placed, all those to whom the faith of the State was plighted? Or could some be justly discharged, while others equally meritorious and destitute were retained? Would justice to the deceased soldier, his orphans or the county which he represented, permit the rejection of the claims of the truly destitute still seeking admission?

The law just enacted provided "for the care, maintenance and education at the expense of the State, and until the age of sixteen years, of the destitute orphan children of *all* such deceased soldiers and sailors, citizens of Pennsylvania, and soldiers who have served in Pennsylvania regiments, as have died in the service of the United States in the late war to suppress the rebellion." Should this law be limited in its application, or rendered practically a nullity immediately after its passage?

Fortunately, the law recognizes the Governor of the Commonwealth as its legal adviser in certain cases, and these and other questions were frankly laid before your Excellency. I found the latch string of the Executive Chamber always out when I knocked in the interest of the orphan, and your anxious and unflagging interest and cordial co-operation and willingness to share responsibility in all pertaining to his welfare, indicated you as his true friend, gave special value and weight to your counsels, and caused me to make frequent inroads upon your time and patience.

After a full and candid consideration of all the circumstances of the case and of the evident intention of the Legislature as expressed in the act of April 9, 1867, and on former occasions, it was determined, your Excellency concurring, to retain all justly in the schools and homes, to discharge promptly all arriving at the age of sixteen, and to admit only the neediest applicants, always giving the preference to the oldest, but in no event to allow the expenditures to exceed $450,000 per annum, the sum voted by the House.

This course, a medium between that injustice that would have rejected and a full compliance with the evident intention of the law that would have promptly admitted all proper applicants, seemed the most prudent and judicious. It is hoped it will meet the approval of the Legislature.

I have added, during the seven months of my administration, only one hundred and eighty-one pupils to the number in schools on the first of May last, and have more than saved the additional cost of these—

First. By raising the standard of promotion from primary schools and homes to advanced schools, thus retaining children longer in the former at a lower rate—a saving of from $40 to $60 per annum on each pupil.

Second. By executing an arrangement with the Northern Home for

Friendless Children and the Lincoln Institution, by which these institutions retain, in advanced departments, furnishing equal facilities for instruction to those furnished by advanced schools, at $125 per annum, including clothing, those who were prepared for and would otherwise have been promoted to advanced schools, at a cost of $165 per annum including clothing,—a saving of $40 per annum on each pupil.

The saving to the State, by these arrangements, has been fully equal to the rate of $50,000 per annum, and may increase as they are perfected and extended.

The managers of the excellent institutions named, and of the primary schools and homes generally, have shown a willingness to co-operate with me in this and other matters, even at a pecuniary loss, that recommends their institutions strongly to public favor.

The difficulties already referred to were further increased by the fact that while all previous reports and estimates have regarded the year as closing on the *thirtieth of November*, the appropriations have been made till the *thirty-first of December*. Hence the appropriation made by the last Legislature commencing with January 1, 1867, the only funds applicable to the payment of expenses incurred for the month of December, 1866, were $12,121 16, of a balance in the hands of my predecessor. Of the expenditure of this sum I have no detailed account, but the claims for this month, as ascertained at the settlement for the quarter ending on the last day of February, and which still remain unpaid, were as follows:

For education and maintenance	$30,270 15
For clothing furnished or made at the advanced schools	799 62
Total	31,069 77

This deficit, more fully explained in the financial statement contained in this report, being the sum of just claims accruing under contracts with the State officer, is made up of approved bills, which it was thought best to have regularly audited and filed with the Auditor General. It remains unpaid, and I recommend a special appropriation early in the session to meet it and the interest accruing thereon since the claims have been audited. This is considered simple justice to those who did the service in good faith, and at a time at which the will of the Legislature could only be judged by its former acts.

CONDENSED TABULAR STATEMENT.

The following tabular statement exhibits the location of the institutions receiving and maintaining soldiers' orphans, at the expense of the State, together with the number of orders issued, admissions, discharges, deaths and present strength of each and of all, as shown by the books of this Department, on the 1st December, 1867.

NAME OF SCHOOL.	County.	Principal.	Number of orders issued	Number admitted on order	Number transferred to	Total number received into school.	Number transferred from	Number discharged on age	Number discharged by order	Number died.	Number in school. Males	Females	Total, both sexes.
1. Dayton	Armstrong	Rev. T. M. Elder	90	84	45	129	.....	3	.....	.....	73	53	126
2. North Sewickley*	Beaver	Prof. J. H. Mann	162	143	1	144	130	11	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
3. Phillipsburg	Beaver	Rev. W. G. Taylor	136	123	119	242	48	12	4	.....	96	82	178
4. Quakertown	Bucks	Profs. Fell and Marple,	206	175	15	190	19	9	7	1	106	48	154
5. Orangeville	Columbia	Rev. H. D. Walker	249	214	13	227	42	12	5	1	87	80	167
6. White Hall	Cumberland	Profs. Moore and Dum,	88	76	101	177	5	7	10	4	83	68	151
7. Uniontown	Fayette	Rev. A. H. Waters	97	82	51	133	1	4	.....	.....	84	44	128
8. Cassville	Huntingdon	Prof. A. L. Guss	172	155	59	214	18	17	1	.....	100	78	178
9. M'Alisterville	Juniata	Prof. J. H. Smith	311	274	18	292	76	20	11	3	108	74	182
10. Mount Joy	Lancaster	Prof. Jesse Kennedy	193	164	52	216	66	12	8	.....	88	42	130
11. Paradise	Lancaster	Prof. Seymour Preston,	174	160	56	216	24	14	18	.....	98	62	160
12. Harford	Susquehanna	Prof. Chas. W. Deans	159	147	41	188	16	9	2	2	86	73	159
13. Mansfield	Tioga	Prof. F. A. Allen	54	45	11	56	.....	.....	.....	.....	32	24	56
Totals for more advanced schools			2,091	1,842	582	2,424	445	130	69	11	1,041	728	1,769
1. Jacksonville	Centre	Rev. D. G. Klein	136	116	10	126	8	.....	.....	.....	58	60	118
2. Loysville	Perry	Prof. P. Bosserman	218	164	27	191	64	.....	.....	1	68	58	126
3. Andersonburg	Perry	Prof. M. Motzer	141	96	4	100	4	.....	.....	2	54	40	94
Totals for Primary Soldiers' Orphans' Schools			495	376	41	417	76	.....	.....	3	180	158	338

*Closed June 1, 1867.

STATEMENT—*Continued.*

NAME OF SCHOOL.	Location.	Numbers of orders issued	Number admitted on order	Number transferred to	Tot'l no. received into school	Number transferred from	Number disch'd on age	Number disch'd by order	Number died	Number in schools. Males	Females	Total, both sexes
1. Pitts'g & Alleg'y Orph. asy	Allegheny county	204	177	10	187	39	1	4	1	86	56	142
2. Home for the Friendless	do do	68	44	3	47	1	.....	.....	1	26	19	45
3. Soldiers' Orphan Home	do do	54	51	2	53	7	2	.....	.....	16	28	44
4. Episcopal Church Home	do do	33	28	1	29	4	.....	1	.....	9	15	24
5. Rochester Orphan Home	Rochester, Beaver county	5	5	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	4	5
6. Zelienople Farm school	Zelienople, Butler county	3	3	.....	3	1	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2
7. Emaus Orphan House	Middletown, Dauphin county	32	27	8	35	6	.....	.....	.....	14	15	29
8. Children's Home	Lancaster, Lancaster county	180	148	11	159	27	.....	1	1	87	43	130
9. St. James Orphan asylum	do do	15	13	2	15	1	.....	1	.....	.....	13	13
10. Home for the Friendless	Wilkesbarre, Luzerne county,	139	94	18	112	30	.....	.....	2	48	32	80
11. Womelsdorf Orphan Home	Womelsdorf, Berks county	90	85	9	94	13	.....	4	.....	46	31	77
12. Church Home	Philadelphia	27	22	4	26	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	17	17
13. Orphan Home	Germantown	67	55	13	68	14	.....	2	.....	29	23	52
14. Lincoln Institution	Philadelphia	69	60	38	98	9	.....	3	2	84	.....	84
15. Northern Home	do	325	271	9	280	64	.....	16	4	126	70	196
16. St. Vincent's Orphan Home	Tacony, Philadelphia	13	12	1	13	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	5	13
17. St. Vincent's Home	Philadelphia	7	3	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3
18. St. John's Orphan asylum	do	54	41	.....	41	9	.....	4	1	27	.....	27
19. Catholic Home for girls	do	27	22	3	25	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	22	22
20. St. Vincent College	Westmoreland county	.....	.....	7	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	.....	7
21. Children's Home	York county	61	45	4	49	13	.....	.....	.....	19	17	36
22. Pennsylvania Training school for feeble minded children	Media, Delaware county	1	1	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2
23. Nazareth Hall	Nazareth, Northamp'n county,	.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Totals for Homes, &c., admitting primary soldiers' orphans		1,474	1,207	145	1,352	250	3	36	12	638	413	1,051
1. Home for destitute colored children, Philadelphia		40	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	15	7	22
Total for colored soldiers' orphans		40	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	15	7	22
Grand totals for all schools		4,100	3,447	768	4,215	771	133	105	26	1,874	1,306	3,180

ORDERS AND APPLICATIONS, BY AGE.

The following table shows the number of orders issued, exclusive of discharges and deaths, and the number of applications on file for each age, from four to fifteen, inclusive, to December 1, 1867:

AGE.	Number orders issued exclusive of discharges and deaths.....	Number of applications on file.	Total No. of orders and applications.
Four years.....	28	36	64
Five do.	113	54	167
Six do.	219	73	292
Seven do.	307	59	366
Eight do.	344	69	413
Nine do.	416	67	483
Ten do.	460	51	511
Eleven do.	479	36	515
Twelve do.	403	43	446
Thirteen do.	348	25	373
Fourteen do.	329	22	351
Fifteen do.	374	5	379
Total.....	3,820	540	4,360

The condensed tabular statement, just given, exhibits at a glance the disposition made of all the orphans of which the State has thus far assumed the guardianship, the location, character and use made of the institutions employed in their maintenance and education, and the numbers now in them. *The table of orders and applications by age* indicates the work yet to do, and the probable length of time the system will be required.

Analyzing these tables, and comparing the past with the previous years, the following valuable and significant facts are developed, and submitted to the careful consideration of your Excellency and the Legislature:

	1865.	1866.	1867.	Total.
Accepted applications received.....	1,848	1,697	1,095	4,640
Orders issued.....	1,582	1,779	739	4,100
Admissions to school.....	1,242	1,575	630	3,447
Discharges on order.....	17	57	31	105
Discharges on age.....	0	48	85	133
Deaths.....	4	13	9	26
Number in school at the close of each year,	1,226	2,681	3,180	

Thus, in 1867 the whole number of accepted applications received was 1,095, being 602 less than in 1866, and 753 less than in 1865; the number of

orders issued 739, being 1,040 less than in 1866, and 843 less than in 1865; the number of admissions 630, being 945 less than in 1866, and 612 less than in 1865; the number of discharges, &c., 125, being 7 more than in 1866, and 104 more than in 1865; while the number in school at the close of the year was only 499 greater than at the close of the previous year, before which the schools were not fairly in operation.

These figures show conclusively that the maximum number in school at any one time has now been, or is being reached, and that hereafter it will decrease. The decrease from discharges on age alone will be 374 in 1868, 329 in 1869, 348 in 1870, 403 in 1871, 479 in 1872, 460 in 1873, 416 in 1874, 344 in 1875, and 307 in 1876, when the number will have been reduced to the capacity of a single institution of ordinary size.

APPLICATIONS ON FILE—BY COUNTY.

The applications on file and unassigned to school on the first of December, 1867, were from the following counties:

Adams	2	Jefferson	31
Allegheny	8	Lancaster	13
Armstrong	43	Lawrence	20
Beaver	7	Lebanon	1
Bedford	3	Lehigh	7
Berks	7	Luzerne	8
Blair	23	Lycoming	8
Bradford	9	Mercer	4
Bucks	1	M'Kean	3
Butler	16	Mifflin	1
Cambria	14	Monroe	1
Carbon	3	Montour	1
Centre	13	Northampton	3
Chester	21	Northumberland	7
Clarion	41	Perry	12
Clearfield	3	Philadelphia	25
Clinton	2	Pike	1
Columbia	2	Potter	7
Crawford	5	Schuylkill	11
Cumberland	1	Somerset	2
Dauphin	12	Sullivan	1
Delaware	4	Susquehanna	6
Elk	2	Tioga	12
Erie	4	Venango	12
Fayette	13	Warren	2
Forest	2	Washington	11
Franklin	7	Wayne	4
Fulton	1	Westmoreland	5
Greene	6	Wyoming	3
Huntingdon	6	York	11
Indiana	26		
Total			540

COST OF THE SYSTEM DURING THE YEAR.

The cost of the system for the year commencing December 1, 1866, and ending December 1, 1867, was as follows:

For education and maintenance during the month of December, 1866, not paid but audited	$30,270 15	
For clothing, &c., furnished by principals of advanced schools for same month; also, not paid but audited	799 62	
Total, being the deficit for Dec., 1866	31,069 77	
Amount expended for December, 1866, by the late Superintendent, out of balance of $12,121 16 in his hands as per last report	9,590 65	
Total cost for December, 1866		$40,660 42
For education and maintenance for eleven months, from January 1, 1867, to December 1, 1867, as per detailed statement, given elsewhere	341,889 85	
Partial relief for seven children	210 00	
		342,099 85
Clothing furnished to 1,988 children in advanced schools during eleven months	37,187 83	
Marking same, mending shoes, freight, &c., at schools	8,350 74	
Total cost of clothing		45,538 57
General expenses		6,781 60
Total expenditures for the year, including December, 1866		435,080 44
Average cost per pupil per annum	$148 43	
Total expenditures for the year, exclusive of December, 1866, being eleven months	394,420 02	
Average cost per pupil per annum	146 80	

The following statement exhibits more in detail the deficit for December, 1866, and the expenditures for eleven months, and for the entire year.

NAME OF SCHOOL.	For education and maintenance.			For freight on goods, making clothing, mending shoes, &c., at the schools.			Total paid and due schools, for entire year, for education and maintenance, and freight, making clothing, mending shoes, &c.
	For December, 1866, being the deficit unpaid	For eleven months, from January 1, 1867, to December 1, 1867	Total for the year, paid and unpaid.	For December, 1866, being the deficit unpaid	For eleven months, from January 1, 1867, to December 1, 1867	Total for the year, paid and unpaid.	
1. Dayton	$1,041 48	$13,741 58	$14,783 06	$17 86	$219 53	$237 39	$15,020 45
2. North Sewickley*	610 52	3,716 35	4,326 87	26 34	150 50	176 84	4,503 71
3. Phillipsburg	1,722 39	20,568 07	22,290 46	63 73	539 78	603 51	22,893 97
4. Quakertown	1,726 22	18,627 55	20,353 77	69 02	552 88	621 90	20,975 67
5. Orangeville	2,063 83	21,798 20	23,862 03	35 57	612 94	648 51	24,516 54
6. White Hall	1,815 05	19,144 29	20,959 34	72 88	895 34	968 22	21,927 56
7. Uniontown	988 49	13,380 18	14,368 67	47 37	678 83	726 20	15,094 87
8. Cassville	2,169 51	23,121 34	25,290 85	105 52	834 39	939 91	26,230 76
9. M'Alisterville	1,956 37	20,950 31	22,906 68	81 92	1,000 34	†1,082 26	23,988 94
10. Paradise	1,901 60	20,172 96	22,074 56	95 09	917 54	1,012 63	23,087 19
11. Mount Joy	1,460 51	15,949 85	17,410 36	49 73	773 79	823 52	18,233 88
12. Harford	1,828 12	20,000 12	21,828 24	134 59	1,130 83	‡1,265 42	23,093 66
13. Mansfield, (new,)	.....	1,244 55	1,244 55	.....	44 05	44 05	1,288 60
Totals for advanced schools	19,284 09	212,415 35	231,699 14	799 62	8,350 74	9,150 36	240,849 80

* Closed June 1, 1867.

† Including $173 50, for making one hundred kersey suits.

‡ Including $15 20, for making nine kersey suits. For all the other schools, these suits were made at a central point, and forwarded.

NAME OF SCHOOLS.	For education and maintenance. For December, 1866, being the deficit unpaid	For eleven months, from Jan. 1, 1867, to Dec. 1, 1867	Total for the year, paid and unpaid
1. Jacksonville	$1,133 08	$12,696 25	$13,829 33
2. Loysville	1,438 05	14,885 11	16,323 16
3. Andersonburg	704 30	9,770 31	10,474 61
Totals for primary soldiers' orphan schools	3,275 43	37,351 67	40,627 10
1. Pittsburg and Allegheny Orphan asylum	$834 68	$11,504 72	$12,339 40
2. Home for friendless, (Allegheny,)	320 83	3,482 70	3,803 53
3. Soldiers' Orphan Home	393 21	3,835 84	4,229 05
4. Episcopal Church Home, (Pittsburg,)	229 17	2,432 08	2,661 25
5. Emaus Orphan House	439 17	4,162 80	4,601 97
6. Lancaster Church Home	1,097 37	12,181 23	13,278 60
7. St. James Orphan asylum	119 17	1,286 70	1,405 87
8. Wilkesbarre Home for friendless	680 99	7,216 30	7,897 29
9. Northern Home	1,041 94	14,071 62	15,113 56
10. Womelsdorf Orphan Home	533 55	6,173 44	6,706 99
11. Lincoln Institution	637 57	7,707 95	8,345 52
12. Episcopal Church Home, (Philadelphia,)	128 33	1,558 76	1,687 09
13. St. Vincent's Home	18 33	196 67	215 00
14. St. John's Orphan asylum	260 94	2,955 02	3,215 96
15. Catholic Home for girls	172 03	2,006 06	2,178 09
16. St. Vincent's Orphan asylum	100 83	1,029 17	1,130 00
17. Childrens' Home, York	183 33	2,632 20	2,815 53
18. St. Vincent's College		836 99	836 99
19. Germantown Orphan Home	448 35	4,769 90	5,218 25
20. Zelienople Farm school	21 67	247 95	269 62
21. Rochester Orphan Home	49 17	534 58	583 75
22. Penn'a Training sch'l for feeble minded child'n		240 97	240 97
23. Home for destitute colored orphans		939 37	939 37
24. Nazareth Hall		120 00	120 00
Totals for Homes, &c	7,710 63	92,122 83	99,833 46
Totals for all schools	30,270 15	341,889 85	372,160 00
Totals, including making clothing, &c	31,069 77	350,240 59	381,310 36
Totals, including all expenses	40,640 42	394,420 02	435,060 44

From these statements, it will be seen that the entire cost of clothing 1,988 orphans, in the advanced schools for eleven months, was $45,538 57, or $22 90 for each orphan, leaving $4,161 43, or $2 10 for each orphan for the month of December, which is being expended in completing the winter outfit. It is considered sufficient for that purpose, and the schools will enter the new year with a fair supply of good clothing, all provided at the average cost of $25 for each child per annum, a considerable saving over previous years.

The general expenses of the Department, by item, for the eleven months, ending November 30, 1867, were as follows :

	Appropriation.	Expended in 11 months.	Balance for December, 1867.
Salaries	$5,500 00	$4,974 98	$525 02
Postage and telegrams	300 00	228 20	71 80
Stationery and blank books	150 00	125 45	24 55
Printing	500 00	252 94	247 06
Advertising	400 00	305 00	95 00
Transferring pupils	400 00	241 10	158 90
Funeral expenses	200 00	195 60	4 40
Traveling expenses	500 00	458 33	41 67
Totals	7,950 00	6,781 60	1,168 40

Annual appropriation	$7,950 00
Expended in eleven months	6,781 60
Balance applicable to the expenses of December, 1867	1,168 40

ESTIMATES.

While the number of children actually in school on the first of December, 1867, was 3,180, the number of outstanding orders, which entitle the holders to admission whenever presented, 640, and the number of applications on file awaiting orders, 540, making a total of 4,360 children to be provided for, exclusive of the additional applications received after December 1, 1867; yet the discharges will occur so rapidly, and the actual admissions may be made so gradually, that the number actually in school may be kept from exceeding 3,500 on the first of June, 1868, and 3,600 during the following year, or by the first of June, 1869, before which the maximum will have been reached, and the decrease have commenced.

Thus restricted, the average number in school will not differ materially from 3,400 for the six months ending June 1, 1868, and 3,500 for the year ending June 1, 1869.

Assuming that provision will be made for no more than the numbers here indicated, the following estimates will be found correct, and are submitted as the least appropriations that should, under any circumstances, be made:

Estimates for the six months from December 1, 1867, *to June* 1, 1868, *for which the appropriation of April* 11, 1867, *was intended to provide.*

For the education and maintenance of 1,850 children, in advanced schools, at $140 per annum	$129,500 00	
For the education and maintenance of 500 children, primary schools, at $125 per annum	31,250 00	
For the education and maintenance of 1,050 children, in Homes, at $105 per annum	55,125 00	
		$215,875 00
Clothing 1,850 children, at $25 per annum		23,125 00
General expenses		3,975 00
Total estimated expenditures to June 1, 1868		242,975 00

Average cost per pupil per annum, $142 91.

Expenditures to December 1, 1867, exclusive of December, 1866	$394,420 02	
Estimated expenditures to June 1, 1868, as above,	242,975 00	
Total actual and estimated expenditures for 17 months		$637,395 02
(Being at the rate of $37,493 83 per month, and $449,925 90 per annum.)		
Appropriation for 17 months		495,833 33
Leaving a deficit of $99,925 90 per annum, or for 17 months,		141,561 69

Thus it will be seen that notwithstanding the proviso delaying the reduction of rates six months longer than estimated, the actual and estimated expenditures have been kept within $450,000 per annum, the sum which the House of Representatives, after the most rigid scrutiny, had voted at its last session. If the difference between this snm, and that to which it was afterwards reduced be granted, it will fully meet the deficiency during the seventeen months covered by the last appropriation, and this sum is accordingly asked for, ($100,000 per annum.) It will in no event be exceeded without previous legislative sanction.

This amount should be appropriated early in the session; otherwise, under the decision of the State Treasurer, which allows the payment of the appropriation already made only as it becomes due in a *pro rata* proportion, there will be no funds to pay the bills coming due on the first of March next, and the schools will be seriously crippled if not closed.

Estimates for the year commencing June 1, 1868, *and ending June* 1, 1869.

For the education and maintenance of 1,900 children, in advanced schools, at $140 per annum	$266,000 00	
For the education and maintenance of 550 children, in primary schools, at $125 per annum,	58,750 00	
For the education and maintenance of 1,050 children, in Homes, at $105 per annum	110,250 00	
Total cost of education and maintenance		$445,000 00
For clothing 1,900 children, at $25		47,500 00
General expenses		7,950 00
Total estimated expenditures for the year ending June 1, 1869,		500,450 00

Average cost per pupil, per aunum, $142 98.

This estimate contemplates restricting admissions to the most destitute and friendless, and as vacancies occur by discharges and deaths. It provides, in fact, for no increase in numbers, except to fill the new schools recently established in the Twelfth, and yet required in several other normal school districts by the act of last session, and the wants of these districts.

Yet while the system, if administered upon this restricted plan, will accomplish a great work, both for the orphan and the State, it is evident that a wise and liberal policy would extend its blessings to at least five hundred additional applicants seeking admission.

If this is done, the maximum number that will ever be in school, at any one time, will be reached during the year now estimated for, and will thereafter decrease, every year more rapidly. The Legislature is, therefore, now asked for the largest appropriation that will ever be required.

SCHOOLS—THEIR CONDITION, IMPROVEMENT, ETC.

As already intimated, one of the most serious impediments in the way of success, was a want of proper accommodations for the advanced and the distinctively primary soldiers' orphan schools, system in their management, and sufficiency in number and character of the help employed in them. Truth compels the assertion, that, comparing these institutions with a reasonably complete and well-conducted model, answering the evident intention of the law, all of them exhibited some, and several many deficiencies in buildings and grounds, bedding and furniture, bathing, washing, cooking and heating conveniences, and in employees, and grave omissions or abuses in thoroughness and regularity of instruction, government, care of clothing, cleanliness, food and general management; while the industrial departments, viewed as the means of furnishing regular, efficient and judicious instruction to the pupils, were almost total failures.

Yet the pioneers in this great work deserve special commendation, notwithstanding this. When the clouds of civil war hung most heavily over the land, and those less hopeful and resolute were fearful of political and financial ruin, these men and women came forward, at the call of the late Executive and the Superintendent, and undertook the charge of the destitute and abandoned, at a merely nominal sum. They assumed heavy pecuniary responsibilities and incurred large expenditures, for the payment of which no appropriations had been made or promised. With inadequate means, often long withheld after due, during the prevalence of war prices and other adverse circumstances, the early operations of a system at once so novel and so extensive, would necessarily, perhaps, show irregularities and abuses. To allow their continuance, however, now that many of the unfavorable conditions attending the establishment and early operations of these schools have happily passed away, would be criminal, and they are

now reverted to simply for the purpose of pointing out the means of correction.

It will be admitted, it is believed, by all conversant with the facts, that until all reach a much higher standard in buildings and other accommodations, acquire the facilities for the production of a greater variety of good, wholesome food, at the lowest possible cost, and secure the services of full corps of able, faithful, christian employees, of mature age, special fitness for their respective positions, and earnestly devoted to the work, the orphans of the worthy dead cannot, and will not, reap the full benefits a grateful recognition of their fathers' services seeks to confer upon them. Hence, regarding it as my sworn duty to correct existing abuses, and to see that the bounteous provision made by the Legislature accomplishes the greatest possible good for these wards of the State, I have not heretofore, nor shall I hereafter hesitate to remove a school, change a principal, insist upon additional improvements, or demand the dismissal of faithless and inefficient employees whenever necessary to secure this end.

It affords me much pleasure to state, however, that my requirements have thus far, in most instances, been met with frank admissions of their reasonableness, and prompt efforts to satisfy them, and that most institutions now show a steady and encouraging advance towards the required standard.

Additions and improvements are being made to buildings and grounds. Old furniture and bedding are giving place to new and better. Bathing and washing rooms are being set apart, adapted to the purposes, and supplied with abundance of water brought, in several instances, from a distance and conveyed in pipes through the buildings at considerable expense. Sitting rooms, one for each sex, are being provided and furnished. The teachers and other employees are becoming better acquainted with, and more efficient in the performance of their respective duties. Vacancies, and the places of the incompetent are being filled by men and women of acknowledged intelligence and piety, possessed of more experience and tact in the management of children, and evincing a zealous interest in their welfare and instruction.

As a consequence, more system, better discipline with less severe punishment, and a higher sense of duty and responsibility, are becoming daily more visible. In several instances, where locks and keys were relied upon to keep children in their places and from disturbing things not belonging to them, they are rendered unnecessary by a willing obedience to existing regulations and a sturdy sense of honor—the result of kind but firm government and good christian example. Industrial instruction is becoming better understood and more efficient; employees, outside of the school room, realizing more fully that they are *teachers*, and that the primary object of all work performed about the institution by the pupils, is the instruction of those

pils aiding in its performance. A system of recording daily the amount and thoroughness of the work done by the pupils, these records to be open to examination by the State officers and the public, and the employment of competent and faithful instructors, are resulting in the formation of habits of industry, more rapid physical development, and a better preparation for life's duties and trials on the part of the children. The employment of a skillful and practical agriculturist, in each institution, next season, and greater regularity and system in making and inspecting working details, are expected to increase largely the value and range of the instruction heretofore furnished the boys, and the variety and quality of the food furnished. If not crippled by unfavorable legislation, I expect this feature to accomplish much good for both pupil and institution, and to eventually reduce their cost to the State.

These evidences of growth, a commendable spirit of rivalry now existing, and the prompt payment of the deficit for December, 1866, on which many of these institutions depend for means to make alterations and additions to buildings and furniture, promise improvement to all, and the elevation of a goodly number to a first-class standard during the year now entered upon.

CONTRACTS.

The Legislature, in my opinion, intended by the act of April 9, 1867, to secure for the destitute orphans of deceased soldiers and sailors of Pennsylvania—

1. All the comforts, and cultivating and restraining influences of well-regulated, well-governed, Christian homes, presided over by those worthy to take the place of parents.

2. All the advantages of a good common school course of instruction, with vocal music, military tactics and calesthenics.

3. Instruction in "the greatest variety possible of household and domestic pursuits, and mechanical and agricultural employments, consistent with the respective sexes and ages of said orphan children and their school-room studies," that can be imparted in good homes and schools, and on a well-cultivated garden and farm, of "not less than twenty acres of tillable land," including the care of the proper quantity and variety of stock and fruit, and buildings, tools and fences.

As may be inferred from what has been said, none of the institutions employed as soldiers' orphan schools are yet in possession of all the facilities necessary to successfully carry out the purposes of the Legislature, as here interpreted. Hence, no formal written contracts, either for a year or a term of years, have thus far been executed. Nor is it deemed best to execute any such contract until these institutions "possess such good and sufficient accommodations," in buildings, grounds and employees, as are considered

necessary for the purposes intended. Now that the policy of the State, in reference to these schools, is definitely determined and expressed by legislative enactment, this course cannot be regarded as unjust or unnecessarily exacting. Those who intend to engage permanently in the business will seek to bring their institutions to the required standard at the earliest moment, and will have the hearty and cordial co-operation of the Superintendent. He is at the same time free to remove or change those who fail to make satisfactory progress in this direction.

In order that those interested may know exactly what is deemed necessary before contracts will be executed, and may thus not mis-direct their efforts, specifications and regulations have been prepared for their guidance.

And for their encouragement, and to insure equal and exact justice to all, I have determined to make a formal examination of each institution whose principal or proprietor informs me in writing of his readiness for examination, and shall appoint two disinterested and competent persons to assist me in such examination. The result will be communicated in writing, and if satisfactory, an official recognition will be furnished, and published in the newspapers of the proper counties. After this recognition, and with the approval of the Governor, a written contract, for the longest term of years allowed by law at the time, will be executed without delay.

Many advantages are expected to result from the adoption of this plan. The merits of the institutions reaching the required standard will thus be publicly acknowledged, and these institutions will undoubtedly assume a prominent position among, and compare favorably with, the best educational institutions in the country. They will also be exempt from the censure now cast indiscriminately upon all soldiers' orphan schools, but deserved only by those of an inferior grade.

NEW SCHOOLS.

1. *Titusville.*—A new school of the advanced grade will be opened, early in December, in a building admirably adapted to the purpose, at Titusville, Crawford county, in the Twelfth district, for the accommodation of Erie, Crawford, Venango, Warren and other north-western counties. Applications from this section of the State for orphans over ten years of age have been filed, and action on them delayed, in anticipation of the establishment of this school.

Titusville, perhaps the best built borough in the oil regions of Pennsylvania, is beautifully located on the Oil Creek railroad, leading from Corry to Franklin, some thirty miles from the former place, and hence is easily accessible. Gurdon S. Berry, Esq., of Titusville, Pa., is the proprietor of this institution.

2. *Mercer.*—A new school, of the primary grade, will be opened about the same time at Mercer, Mercer county, Pa., for the admission of the younger pupils of the western and north-western counties of the State. This will also be provided with good buildings, well adapted to the purpose, and beautifully located on a large tract of land. Prof. J. G. White, and George Reznor, Esq., will conduct this institution.

As soon as the alterations, additions and improvements now being made are completed, the maximum number of pupils admitted and the necessary employees secured, both these schools will possess accommodations and facilities equal to the standard established for first-class institutions, and contracts will be executed with them.

3. Arrangements have been made with Prof. F. A. Allen, principal of the State Normal school at Mansfield, Tioga county, Pa., to admit fifty orphans, over ten years of age, into the model school attached to that institution. The school was opened on the first of October last, and is now in successful operation.

4. A school for the destitute orphans of colored soldiers, required by the sixth section of the act of April 9, 1867, is being temporarily established at the Summit House, near Philadelphia, under the immediate superintendence of B. P. Hunt, Esq., of Philadelphia, who has spent much time, gratuitously, in visiting and ascertaining the number and condition of this class of orphans. About eighty accepted applications—many being cases of extreme destitution—have been made, and the school is expected to open in January next. The number of colored soldiers' orphans will never, it is thought, exceed the capacity of a single institution of moderate size. The only orphans of this class now under the care of the State, are those in the Home for Destitute Colored Children at Maylandville, twenty-two in number.

AID TO NEW SCHOOLS.

The privileges conferred by the act of April 15, 1867, entitled "An Act to provide means for the establishing of a soldiers' orphans' school in each State Normal school district of this Commonwealth, now destitute thereof," have been extended to but one school—that for advanced pupils in the Twelfth district.

I recommend the modification of this act, so as to permit the application of half the sum it grants to primary schools established in districts unprovided with them. As it is simply an advance amply secured by bonds filed with the Secretary of the Commonwealth, and is refunded to the State in quarterly instalments, it does not in any manner increase the cost of the system to the State, while it materially assists in making the alterations and additions usually required to adapt existing institutions to the purpose of soldiers' orphans' schools.

APPRENTICING OR BINDING OF ORPHANS.

The act provides for the binding out to a trade or employment, on arrival at the age of sixteen years or sooner, of orphans, but only "at the written request of said orphan, and of his, or her, mother, guardian or next friend." This condition almost, if not entirely, defeats the object in view; for those whose steady habits and disposition to work and learn trades, would induce them to be bound out, are taken home by mothers, guardians or next friends, or find ready employment at good wages, while those whose unsteady habits and want of industry render it important that they should be under the care of good masters, tire of restraint quite too easily to choose voluntarily to continue under it longer than the law requires. It is in fact from this class that pupils abscond to avoid restraint, or punishments for misdemeanors.

It is for the Legislature to consider whether children, at best incapable of deciding correctly what refers to their own future, but, in this instance, known to be still further incapable from deciding correctly by having fallen into bad habits, and become idle and self-willed, should be permitted to stand in the way of their own reformation and future welfare. The act of last winter is simply a re-enactment of a law in force two years, and yet none have, thus far, been bound out either by my predecessor or myself.

REPORTS.

In accordance with the requirements of the law, I prepared forms for the weekly, monthly, quarterly and annual reports, and these are now reaching the Department; though not with uniform regularity, or always satisfactory. When the several institutions become more systematic and exact in keeping permanent records, and forms are furnished, all present irregularities will, it is hoped, be corrected, and these reports become valuable and full of interest. I could now, if space permitted, fill pages with extracts from those on file, illustrative of the character of the work being done, and the success attending present efforts.

COUNTY COMMITTEES OF SUPERINTENDENCE.

These committees, particularly through their chairman, have hitherto rendered much important service in obtaining and furnishing information to mothers and guardians, executing and forwarding applications, and advising the Department upon matters coming directly within their observation and knowledge. The fact that this service has been voluntarily and gratuitous, gives it increased merit, and furnishes further proof of the disinterested motives influencing the actors.

The work of collecting the orphans into schools and homes having been nearly completed, the service heretofore performed by these committees will

e less frequently required. It is not intended, however, to dispense with hem, but to turn their labors into another channel. They will now be sked to visit, by one or more of their number, the schools and homes into hich the orphans of their respective counties have been collected, at least uarterly, and to report the result of such visit to this Department. To cilitate and give practical value to this visitation, instructions and blank rms will be furnished.

The aid of these committees will also be asked in securing good homes nd situations, whether under indenture or otherwise, for all orphans dis-harged on age. Thus, important services are still expected from this ource.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

I cannot forbear commending the zeal with which my inspectors, Rev. C. ornforth and Mrs. E. W. Hutter, the former a county superintendent of com-on schools for some years, and the latter a veteran in the cause of charities, ntered upon the discharge of, and sought to acquaint themselves with, the uties of their new and extended positions. Their hearty co-operation in he plans adopted, and earnest help in executing them, are expected to has-en and assure success.

CONCLUSION.

Children are too frequently permitted, in this country and age, to grow p with strong, uncontrollable passions, idle and vicious habits, and vague nd perverted views of the duties and responsibilities of life. They assume he privileges, and enter upon the discharge of the duties of citizens and arents, with no preparation or fitness for them. As a consequence, they erpetuate the same, or worse habits and vices, by their pernicious example nd conduct in the families to which they give existence, and in the circles n which they move. As well may we expect pure streams to flow from oisoned sources, as that depraved and idle parents will rear virtuous and ntelligent children.

The State that provides for the care and training of her destitute and riendless children, and thus checks vice and inculcates virtue in the spring-me of life, protects itself at once against the evils of vice, and secures all he solid advantages that flow from industry, intelligence, piety and sub-ission to rightful authority. But to do this for the destitute orphans of hose who fell in her service, not only secures those great advantages, but hows a grateful recognition of services which will be remembered when she gain needs defenders.

We can only correctly estimate the value and completeness of the provi-ion made for our soldiers' orphans, when we contemplate the condition and rospects of the ragged, badly behaved and undisciplined children thronging the

streets of our villages, boroughs and cities every day, listen to their cours and inaccurate language, and note the vague ideas of future duties and re sponsibilities they entertain. As wild, rank weeds, growing by the aid o sunshine and rain, strew the fields with noxious seeds that tax for years th efforts of the husbandman, so will these children, growing to manhood an womanhood without reform, scatter on every side fruitful seeds of vice an crime, that will require untold toil and care to counteract.

Meanwhile our soldiers' orphans, subjected to good influences, made happ and comfortable, and instructed mentally, morally, physically and industri ally, must become good, intelligent and wise citizens. Whatever may b the influence of soldiers' orphans, when grown to manhood and womanhood upon the future of other States, less mindful of their present claims an wants, Pennsylvania must years hence reap a rich harvest socially, morally intellectually and industrially, from the seed she is now sowing so wisel and so well in the hearts and affections of her soldiers' orphans. As th industrious, wise and good of the present generation pass away, their place will be filled in a large measure by those who are now cared for and traine for usefulness through their wisdom and liberality.

When the late Executive recommended the establishment of schools an homes for the destitute orphans of deceased soldiers, he performed an ac that displayed not only a generous sympathy for the bereaved and friend less, but the wisest and most far-seeing statesmanship.

I will only add that I have the most implicit faith in the entire success o the wise and beneficent scheme for the education and maintenance of thes meritorious wards of the State now promising such rich results. The diffi culty of finding the right men and women for the work, and mistakes i the management of the schools, may retard but cannot defeat the ultimat success of a plan so grand, so feasible and so just.

This trust is now submitted with confidence to a Legislature whose fre quent endorsement encourages the hope of continued favor and liberality and to the guardianship of an Executive, who knows how to feel for an protect the orphans of those who shared with him the dangers of battl and falling, left their offspring to the care of the State which he governs.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

GEO. F. M'FARLAND,

Superintendent Soldiers' Orphans' Schools.